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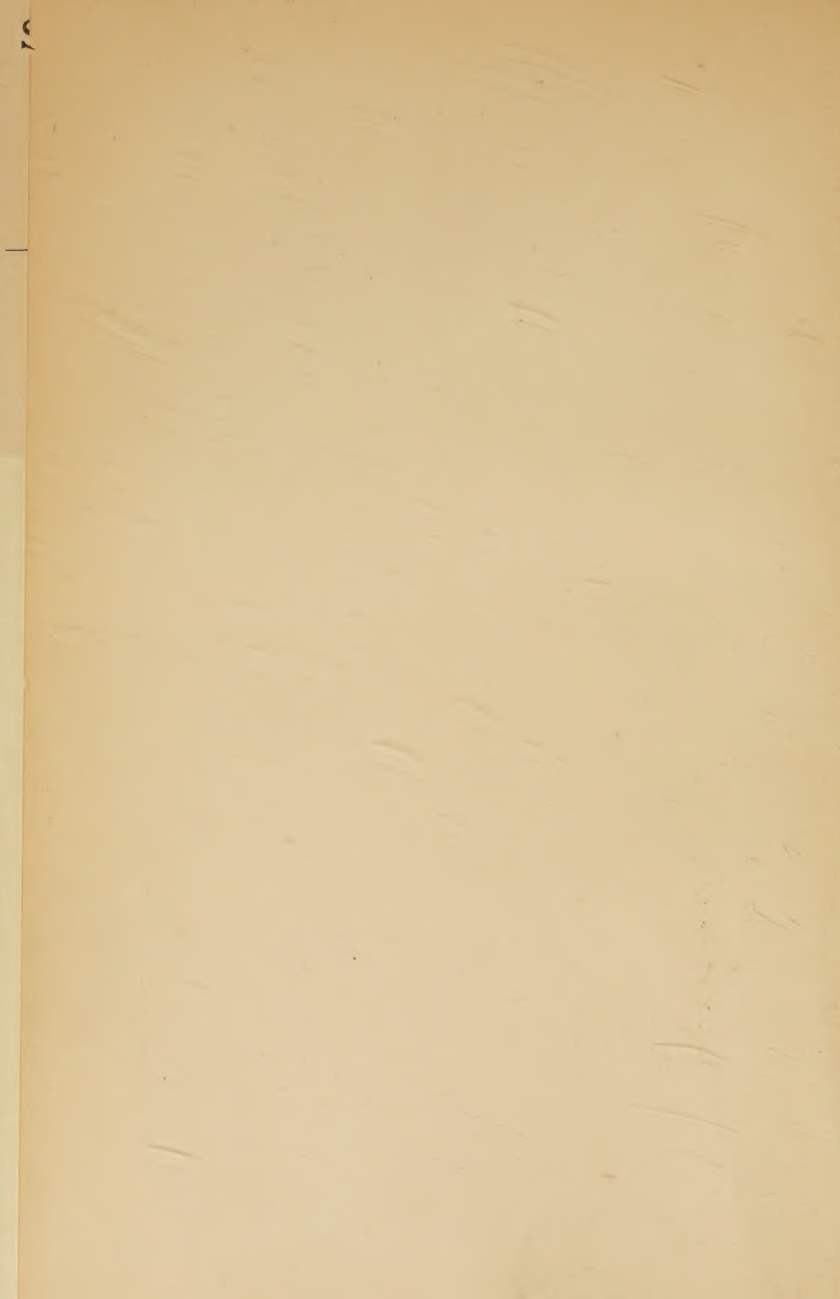
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HISTORICAL PAPERS

EDITED BY

THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the appearance of the last bound volume of the Historical Series, its original editor, Father John Morris, has died. The loss of one whose reputation for historical accuracy was so good a guarantee for the character of the tracts is felt to be a great misfortune, but, having succeeded him as editor, I shall endeavour to continue the series on the same lines; to admit nothing which is written in a one-sided and merely controversial spirit, but to give due weight to all the aspects of a subject, to those which cause difficulty as well as to those which are manifestly corroborative of Catholic doctrine, and above all things to trace back facts to original and unimpeachable authorities. It is only by such treatment that the cause of truth can be solidly advanced, and the Catholic Church has every reason to welcome it.

The tracts composing this volume are written on these principles and they deal with subject-matter both interesting and important. To one of them I would particularly call attention, that on *Religious Instruction in England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. I count myself happy in having been able to secure it.

SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Great Schism of the West.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

IN His dealings with man, God is ever careful to leave a large scope for the exercise of free-will. We must not forget this, for it is only by bearing it constantly in mind that we can explain the large extent to which even the noblest and divinest of God's works present themselves to our gaze, like the gold in the ore, so largely encrusted over by and intermixed with the evil and the scandal arising out of human sinfulness. We must learn to disengage the gold from the ore, to distinguish the good from the evil, the divine from the human, and to ascribe each only to its own source.

This is especially necessary in dealing with the history of the Papacy. In the long line of Roman Pontiffs, alike in their personal character and in their government of the Church, the divine stands out in the clearest, the most dazzling, brightness to all who will observe it with open eyes ; but there is a human element as well which at times obtrudes an unwelcome demand on our notice, and seems so incompatible with the divine as to excite astonishment.

With one such perplexing blending of incompatibles we now propose to deal. The Holy See is the divinely appointed centre of unity to the Catholic Church, and its endurance in that character is perhaps the crowning marvel of human history ; and yet at one time the world saw for forty years the spectacle

of two, and for a portion of this period of three, distinct successions of prelates engaged in bitter conflict with one another, each claiming to be the legitimate line of Roman Pontiffs, each gathering round itself a portion of the divided Christendom, and each launching out denunciations and excommunications against the adherents of the other two. If there can be so serious and long-enduring a schism in the Papacy itself, is it possible to believe that governmental unity is an essential property of the Catholic Church and the Papacy its divinely appointed bond?

But let us tell the story of the Great Western Schism, and then we shall be in a position to answer the difficulty.

The Schism commenced in 1378, but to explain how it originated we must first understand what were its predetermining causes. Seventy years earlier, Clement V. succeeded, if we disregard the short reign of Benedict XI., to the rule and the difficulties of Boniface VIII. He was of Gascon origin and was Archbishop of Bordeaux. He was therefore the subject of the English King Edward I., whose dominions at the time included South-Western France. But if an English subject, he was naturally French in his sympathies, and was on friendly terms with the reigning King, Philip le Bel. When the official news of his election to the Papacy reached him Clement was at Bordeaux, and although he appears to have purposed setting out for Rome after his coronation at Lyons, many circumstances combined to keep him all through his pontificate on French soil. In the first place the state of parties

in Italy, and in particular at Rome, was such as to suggest that if in Rome the Pope would not be allowed a free hand in the government of the Church, and on the other hand Philip was most anxious to keep the Pope in France in the hope of converting him into a tool for the furtherance of his own designs against the memory of Boniface VIII., and against the large wealth of the Knights of the Temple. It may be that Clement, who was of a pliant disposition and was fond of his native land, listened with no unready ear to the persuasions of Philip ; nor ought we to credit him with the foresight of all the evils destined to follow from his ill-fated resolution.

The pleasant city of Avignon, on the left bank of the Rhone, which was eventually selected as the Papal residence in France, was not in Philip's territory. It belonged to the Counts of Provence, who were also Kings of Naples, and in the latter capacity, vassals of the Holy See. From them it was purchased by Clement's successor, John XXII., and it remained a Papal possession till it was annexed by the French Republican Government at the close of the last century.

Nevertheless, through its proximity to France, a residence there rendered the Popes subject to French influences, with the result that the Avignon Popes were always more or less overawed by the French Kings, and their courts became predominantly French in composition. Every one of the seven Popes from Clement V. to Gregory XI. were of French, and most were of Gascon origin, and French Cardinals were in a large majority in the Sacred College. Such a state of things could not fail to impair the reverence

with which Catholic nations should regard the Holy See, as a power placed on an eminence apart, disengaged from entanglement in the rival policies of the different nations, and impartially surveying events from the lofty standpoint of Christian principles. We do not mean by this to acknowledge that the Avignon Popes were incapable of rising to the true ideal of their office. History has at last done them justice and acknowledged that they kept it sedulously in view, realizing its requirements in many striking ways.¹

Still, in spite of their many apostolic works, and although it is untrue to say that they submitted themselves in all respects to the dictation of the French monarchs, their sojourn on French soil rendered these Avignon Popes suspect to the nations, and the suspicions were not without solid grounds.

There were also other evils arising from the same cause. If the condition of Italy was a motive impelling the Popes to absent themselves from its midst, their absence tended to render the state of things much worse. While the Popes were present, they had been able in some degree to keep within bounds the turbulence of the conflicting parties, which, now that the restraining hand had been withdrawn, were fast converting the garden of Europe into a pile of ruins and a desert waste.

And this desolation of the Italy which they had abandoned reacted on the exiled Popes. They could no longer draw their accustomed revenues, and were compelled to impose numerous and heavy taxes on ecclesiastical property throughout the world. In no other way could they carry on the government of

¹ Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 61. Eng. Trans.

the Universal Church, and maintain such splendour in their courts as their high office seemed to them to require. It was most unjust to deny them the right to take this course, and the charge that in taking it they were reducing the local churches to ruin was doubtless much exaggerated. Still these charges were made by the victims of the taxation, and the Papacy became proportionately unpopular.

As the residence in Avignon went on enduring, the sense of these evils connected with it became more and more acute in the hearts of those who suffered from them. The Romans especially were urgent that the Popes should return to their natural home. On the other hand, the French Sovereigns, and the classes out of whom the Papal Court was mainly recruited, were as strenuous in urging the continuance of a state of things out of which they found so much profit. The Popes placed between these two contending parties, although they were all of French birth, seem to have had the duty of return constantly in mind, and made periodical efforts to carry the project into effect. The only Avignon Pope of whom this cannot be said was Clement VI., and he, if he made no attempts and showed no anxiety to return, at least told the Roman ambassadors that to return would be his wish were not his continued presence in France necessary to heal the quarrel between the Kings of France and England. Blessed Urban V., who succeeded Clement VI., actually did return in 1367, and remained in Rome or its neighbourhood for three years. He, however, then returned to Avignon, where he shortly after died. Urban V. was succeeded

by Gregory XI., the Pope under whom the final departure from Avignon took place.

The tension in Italy was then at its highest. During the absence of the Popes from Italy they appointed Legates to govern the Papal provinces in their stead. These, being members of the Sacred College, were almost of necessity of French origin and sympathies, and on that account excited general dislike; a dislike which they seem to have provoked in some cases by singularly injudicious and inconsiderate acts. Such conduct on the part of the Legates led, in 1375, to a general uprising of the Italians against them. In Rome this feeling took the form of a movement which, however, at that time, did not come to a head, to set up an Antipope. At Florence it translated itself into a war against the Sovereign Pontiff, and a largely successful endeavour to stir up rebellion in the Papal cities.

It was under these circumstances that, attended by his Court, Gregory took his departure in the autumn of 1376, and reached Rome in the following January. Although the Romans had realized so forcibly that the welfare of their city was bound up with the presence of the Pontiff in their midst; although they had entered into a treaty with their returning sovereign, had promised him a peaceful rule, and had received him with all the marks of intense rejoicing, it soon appeared how unready they were to subject selfish interests to the fulfilment of their promise. Gregory had an unquiet life during the short time which intervened before his death, which occurred in March, 1378.

There were sixteen Cardinals in Rome at the

time of Gregory's decease, and of these four only were of Italian nationality. One, Pedro de Luna, was Spanish. The other ten were French, and of these ten five were Limousins. There were besides seven absent Cardinals, of whom six were at Avignon. All these were likewise of French birth. In virtue of a Constitution published by Gregory XI. just before his death, the Cardinals present at Rome were not to await the arrival of their absent colleagues, but proceed to terminate the anxieties and dangers of the interregnum by an immediate election. The Italian Cardinals naturally desired an Italian Pope, and believed that only by this means could the evils of a renewed Avignon residence be prevented. The "Ultramontane"¹ Cardinals were, however, in a large majority, and as they had shown their attachment to Avignon by their endeavours to prevent the late Pope from quitting the pleasant abode, it was natural to anticipate that they would demand a Pope of their own mind and therefore of their own nationality. There was, nevertheless, a division among the Ultramontanes themselves, the Limousins desiring, and the rest opposing, the choice of a Limousin. The effect of this cleavage was to make the balance of parties in the Conclave more equal, and to give the Italians a better chance.

But beyond their own inclinations, there was a grave external consideration for the electors to take

¹ This word which etymologically signifies "natives of the regions beyond the mountains," was in those days a designation given by Italians to the nationalities north of the Alps. In modern usage, the term has an opposite meaning, having been devised by the Gallicans to describe adherents of the theology which they chose to regard as localized beyond, that is south of, the Alps.

into account. The Roman citizens were bent on doing their utmost to prevent the election of another French Pope, lest another Avignon residence should be the result; and they were taking measures to force their will upon the Cardinals. A mob, partly armed, was going about the city crying out: "We wish for a Roman Pope or at least an Italian one." It did not hesitate to assail the Conclave itself, and perhaps to threaten the electors with death if the popular desire should be disregarded. How far the Cardinals yielded to this pressure is in dispute, and it is out of this dispute that the schism arose. This much is certain that, whether through the pressure or in spite of it, they speedily agreed among themselves, and on April 9, 1378, elected the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholomew Prignani. Prignani was a Neapolitan, and so far likely to be acceptable to the Romans. On the other hand, he owed his promotion from humble rank to the Limousin Cardinal of Pampeluna, Pierre de Montéruc, had lived a long time at Avignon, and had contracted in some degree the manners of the place. It might therefore be hoped that, though Italian by origin, he would in gratitude continue to stand by the party with which he had been hitherto associated.

Prignani obtained at once fourteen out of the sixteen votes, and eventually all. But so fearful do the Cardinals seem to have been lest the Roman people should be enraged at their choice, that when in their impatience to hasten the election, the populace broke into the Conclave, they adopted a stratagem to protect their persons from violence. They caused, or at least encouraged, the spread of the rumour that Tibaldeschi, the Cardinal of St. Peter's, an aged

Roman, had been elected, and meanwhile they themselves withdrew to safe places. There seems to have been reason for their fear. As soon as the people discovered that Prignani was the elect, they were filled with indignation. They were, however, eventually quieted down, and the Cardinals being brought back proceeded to complete the election and crown the new Pope, who took the name of Urban VI.

There is agreement that till his election Urban was a man whose conduct had given edification.

The new Pope [says Pastor] was adorned by great and rare qualities; almost all his contemporaries are unanimous in praise of his purity of life, his simplicity, and temperance. He was also esteemed for his learning, and yet more for the conscientious zeal with which he discharged his ecclesiastical duties. It was said that he lay down to rest at night with the Holy Scriptures in his hands, that he wore a hair-shirt, and strictly observed the fasts of the Church. He was, moreover, experienced in business. When Gregory XI. had appointed him to supply the place of the absent Vice-Chancellor, he had fulfilled the duties of the office in an exemplary manner, and had acquired an unusual knowledge of affairs. Austere and grave by nature, nothing was more hateful to him than simony, worldliness, and immorality in any grade of the clergy.¹

He had, however, one great fault, a fault which sometimes accompanies the burning zeal for reform of a good man and frustrates all his efforts. He was harsh and unbending in his measures, rough and rude in his manner, and showed himself to be utterly without tact or considerateness. The day after his coronation he began to give offence. He rated the Bishops present for being absent from their dioceses, and called them perjured villains. He told the

¹ Vol. i. p. 121.

Cardinals they were gluttons, and threatened to take upon himself the regulation of their houses and tables. When a collector came in with the results of his collection, he was rudely told to take his money and perish with it. These were small matters in themselves, but they foreboded a mode of treatment the prospect of which filled the worldly-minded electors with fear, and to fear was added intense disappointment when Urban announced that he had no intention of quitting Rome for Avignon, and that, to prevent that calamity ever happening again, he was proposing to restore the balance in the Sacred College by creating a large number of Italian Cardinals.

The Ultramontane Cardinals at this prospect forgot their internal differences and banded together for self-protection. On the plea of avoiding the summer heats, they obtained leave from the Pope to withdraw to Anagni, a town on the neighbouring Campanian hills, and soon after to Fondi, which lay in the Neapolitan domains. This further withdrawal to Fondi was rendered possible by another blunder on the part of Urban. Joanna of Naples was naturally well disposed towards Urban, and she sent her husband, Otho of Brunswick, to salute him on his election, and to solicit for the said Otho the succession to the Neapolitan crown which was a fief of the Holy See. Urban, instead of gratifying, managed to offend the royal pair by his brusque refusal, and they at once took against him and were glad to invite the recalcitrant Cardinals into their territory.

Feeling themselves now sufficiently strong to take up a position of declared opposition, these Cardinals wrote to their four Italian colleagues who were still

with Urban, asserting that his election had been invalid on account of the violence to which the electors had been subjected, and summoning them to Anagni to consider what should be done to remove the scandal from the Church. Urban on this sent the Italian Cardinals to Fondi to negotiate. He offered to submit the case to a General Council, but declined absolutely to resign. On their refusing this offer and managing to draw off from him even the three Italian Cardinals (the fourth, the aged Cardinal of St. Peter's, was on his death-bed), he went the length of creating, on September 18th, twenty-eight new Cardinals. This determined the Cardinals at Fondi. They proceeded, on September 20th, to elect the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who took the title of Clement VII. Thus the schism was commenced.

We must pass over all intermediate events and say that Clement was shortly after compelled to withdraw from Italy and take up his residence at Avignon. He was recognized as Pope by the King of France, the Count of Provence, Joanna of Naples, and by Scotland. Urban, on the other hand, retained the allegiance of Germany, of all Italy, save the Neapolitan territory, of England, Flanders, Hungary, Sweden, &c. The Spanish kingdoms remained for a time neutral, but eventually adhered to Clement.

It is instructive to notice on what plan this division of the nations between the two obediences was formed. Dr. Creighton tells us that "when the schism was declared and the two parties stood in avowed opposition, allies began to gather round each from motives which were purely political."¹

¹ *History of the Papacy*, vol. i. pp. 65, 66.

This is a way of interpreting what happened which is not unnatural in a Protestant writer. It does not, however, take sufficiently into account the hold which the Catholic faith has, and ever has had, on the hearts of its adherents. If we examine into the facts more carefully, we soon perceive that the charge of acting under political bias (for even there it did not amount to more than a strong bias) lies exclusively at the door of France and those rulers who were under her influence. "From France the evil proceeded, and France was the chief and, in fact, essentially the only support of the schism; for other nations were involved in it merely by their connexion with her."¹

In France the Court party were intensely mortified at the loss of the advantages to their national interests of a French Papacy, and were determined to get it back again, almost at any cost. Joanna of Naples was filled with vindictiveness against Urban for the rebuffs experienced at his hands. There may also be some ground for attributing the part taken by distant Scotland to its hostility to England. France of course had her case to present in justification of the part she was taking, and it was natural that the Scotch, her constant allies, should be biassed in its favour. French influence also is discernible in the part eventually taken by the Spaniards. While we must recognize that they remained strictly neutral until they had first taken elaborate evidence from witnesses on behalf of both parties, we must account it significant that the Spanish decision in favour of Clement synchronized with an important royal marriage and

¹ Döllinger, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, II. i. 281.

consequent alliance between Spain and France, an alliance sorely needed by each of the parties to strengthen them against their common English foe. These countries, where French influence is so clearly discernible, were the only countries which adhered to Clement. We must besides bear in mind that where the sovereign adhered to one of the rival obediences the sympathy of all his subjects was not necessarily in the same direction. In this respect Urban had also probably the allegiance of the vast majority. Thus, when Joanna of Naples first went over to Clement and invited him to her territory, the Neapolitans rose up against him and showed their teeth so decidedly that he was constrained to embark at once for Provence. And when twelve years later, in the first year of Urban's successor, Boniface IX., the Jubilee was held at Rome, it was noticed how numerous were the French pilgrims who flocked to the Eternal City, as if anxious to use the opportunity offered of showing whither their hearts inclined them. Nor does there seem sufficient reason for attributing the adherence of the vast majority of the nations to Urban to exclusively political motives. The grounds on which the English accepted Urban are given by Rinaldi. They are as convincing a statement of Urban's case as we can find anywhere.¹

But can we come to any conclusion as to which of the two elections was valid? Certainly if we are to be led by the authorities collected long since from the Vatican archives by Rinaldi, the continuer of Baronius,² there cannot be any doubt in the matter. The Archbishop of Bari was just the one candidate

¹ *Annal. Eccles.* n. 50, in ann. 1378.

² *Ibid.* in ann. 1378.

in whom the three parties of the Conclave, the Italians, the Limousins, and the others could come to an agreement; and the proposal to elect him actually came from the Limousins, who regarded him, as we have said, as one likely, on account of his previous connexions, to govern according to their ideas. He was elected by nearly all the first time, and, according to many witnesses, by all in a second election held for the sake of greater certainty during a lull in the clamour going on outside. His election was deemed likely to dissatisfy the Romans, and on that account when the latter broke into the Conclave, instead of making his name known at once, the electors took measures to entangle the invading and excited crowd in a misapprehension. They caused the idea to get about that the Roman Cardinal Tibaldeschi was the elect, but that he was refusing to accept. While the invaders were forcing the aged man on to the throne and vesting him, in spite of his own protests and resistance, in the Papal garments, they used the opportunity to escape from the Vatican and secure themselves, some in the fortified Castle of St. Angelo, some in castles outside the city, the less unpopular in their own residences within the walls. They actually came back the next day (all save the four outside the walls) from their places of security to complete their act by enthroning the elect, and a few days later they all without exception conducted the coronation with all the accustomed ceremonies. Without protest they permitted Urban to receive homage from all classes, even from the representatives of the sovereign powers. With their own hands they wrote letters abroad to their respective sovereigns

and their respective friends, letters both public and private, and among them a joint official letter to the Cardinals remaining at Avignon. And in these letters, not in mere formal terms, but with a certain cordiality of language, they convey the impression that Urban had been truly and unanimously elected, and that he was in their estimation the kind of Pope who should give general satisfaction. Specially noteworthy among these letters is one written six days after the election¹ and before the coronation, to the Emperor Charles IV. by the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, destined so soon to be set up as the opposition Pope. For three months the Cardinals continued in this course, during which time they frequently solicited and obtained favours for themselves and their friends, and took their proper place and part in all the Consistories. It was not till the early summer that they withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and not till the end of July that they declared their opposition. On these grounds, which strong in themselves would seem still more convincing if adequately stated as they are to be found in Rinaldi, it would seem certain that Urban's election was valid.

And although, besides Rinaldi there is Baluze to reckon with, and Baluze's *Lives of the Avignon Popes* certainly presents a very forcible case in favour of the rival line, the preponderance of opinion has continued to be in favour of the Roman line; nor of Catholic opinion only, but of Protestant writers also. Pastor says:

The most renowned jurists of that age, as John of Lignano, Baldi of Perugia, Bartolomeo of Saliceto, composed

¹ Pastor, op. cit. 2nd Edit. (German), App. n. 14.

elaborate judgments in favour of the validity of Urban's election . . . and the most distinguished Catholic investigators of our days have taken the same side, as Hefele, Papencordt, Hergenröther, Heinrich; as also many Protestant writers, such as Leo, Hinschius, Siebeking, Lindner, Gregorovius, Erler.¹

Probably this verdict of the historians will continue in spite of the additional documents from the Vatican secret archives, first published in 1889 by the Abbé Gayet in his *Grand Schisme d'Occident*. These new documents, however, have at least shown us that we had not previously the full strength of the case for the seceding Cardinals placed before us. They consist, with an exception or two, of depositions taken, for the sake of the Spanish Sovereigns, from nearly all the seceding Cardinals, and from other persons of importance through their position or means of observation, who were mixed up in the events of the disputed election. They exhibit the Cardinals to us in a pitiable plight, the victims of a most abject fear, from the moment when they entered the Conclave to the time when three months later they found themselves at Fondi; and purely under the impulse of that fear performing every one of those duties of electors, the performance by them of which has been taken as evidence that they had freely concurred in Urban's election.

Pastor describes Gayet's work as one of which the value is derived exclusively from the Appendices, that is, from the text of the newly published documents; but at all events, Gayet's documents have caused Pastor's second edition to enter into a much

¹ *Ibid.* p. 102.

more careful discussion of the story of the election than the author had previously considered necessary.

We must be content to give very briefly our reasons for considering that Rinaldi's verdict still holds the ground, in spite of Baluze and Gayet.¹ It is necessary to begin with an important distinction. The question on which all turns is not whether there was force applied by the Romans, but whether its application was the determining cause of the election of Urban. To what extent the threats of the Roman mob went, how soon they began, and how much they meant, may be disputed: but that there were threats, and that the Cardinals had solid reasons for thinking that their lives were in peril, seems established beyond the possibility of question. Nor can it be denied that the Cardinals were influenced by the threats to some extent. The rapidity of the choice was certainly due to this cause: for had it not been present, the balance of feeling among the electors pointed to a long Conclave. We may allow also that the demand of the mob entered into the motives which caused the choice to fall upon Urban. It seems quite certain that they did not exclusively cause it. For it is clear that the Cardinals were, as stated above, split up into three sets, on account of the dissension between the Limousins and the other Ultramontanes, and that the Archbishop of Bari was the sort of candidate in whom the three sets might be expected to agree as soon as it became manifest that none could carry its own special favourite. But even if the violence of the Romans did not primarily

¹ For a profounder and excellent discussion of the question, in which fresh documents are utilized, see Valois' article in *Quest. Hist.* 1890.

determine the election of Prignano, it must at least have entered in later as an important reason for electing him. Not only might it enter in, but it should have entered in. The intense feeling of the future Pope's immediate subjects that they ought to have a Pope who would remain among them was a material point for the electors to consider; quite as material as their own strong desire to have a Pope who would lead them back to Avignon. What then is the crucial point? It is this. Did the pressure applied succeed in rendering the election null by rendering it no true exercise of judgment at all?

A first answer in the negative to this question seems to be that the Romans never made the slightest attempt to press upon the Cardinals any particular individual. "We want a Roman, or at least an Italian," they said; and, although we must condemn the threats with which they accompanied their demand, the demand was in itself both reasonable and moderate. An abundance of suitable Italians, and even of Romans, could doubtless be found, any one of whom the Romans were prepared to accept. Presumably, knowing the usual practice of elections, they thought of the four Italian, or the two Roman Cardinals, in the Conclave, and this is how their clamours were interpreted by Roderigo Bernardi, the Spanish representative, who took evidence later on, from witnesses who had been mixed up in the affair, for the sake of the King of Castile.¹ Still they did nothing to press these names on the Conclave, and in fact no one of them was chosen. On the other hand, they most certainly never pressed upon the

¹ Gayet, ii. P.J. pp. 139, 140.

Conclave the Archbishop of Bari, a man whose name was so little known to them, that when they first heard it mentioned as that of the elect, they mistook it for the name of another who was specially displeasing, and received it with expressions of intense indignation. Thus in their selection of Prignani from the indefinite number of Italian prelates, the Cardinals cannot reasonably be said to have been following any other preference save their own. In short, although there was intimidation, it was intimidation resisted, not yielded to, or so far as it was yielded to, yielded to only to the extent of hiding the true choice for a while and protecting it by the counterfeit presentation to the intimidators of the Cardinal of St. Peter's.

The Cardinals, however, in their Encyclical from Anagni, attempted to break the force of this argument against them by the plea that they did not elect Bartholomew Prignani at all while in the Conclave; that at least they did not elect him to be the Pope. Finding their liberty destroyed, they tell us they named him as a *locum tenens* only, selecting him for this function because they deemed him to be one who would make a good Pope, and whom, if he should be proved to suit, they could elect again properly as soon as the present danger was past; because also they believed him to be one, who, if they should think good afterwards to disregard him, would be quite willing to withdraw. But in putting forward this explanation of their action, the Cardinals practically gave away their case. We have the deposition of the Cardinal de Luna; of him who became the second Pope of the opposition line, and was not likely to err in favour of his adversaries.¹ According to this

¹ Gayet, ii. p. 157.

deposition, on the morning after the election, when the Cardinals who had fled from the Vatican were still hiding in St. Angelo and elsewhere, Prignani sent for De Luna, and asked him whether he had been truly elected or not. De Luna's answer was that Prignani had been most certainly and validly elected. Nor is there any suggestion that this answer was rendered in fear. De Luna's case for himself in answer to the interrogatories of the King of Aragon, given six years later, is that he personally did really mean to elect Urban, and that till he went to Anagni, three months later, he had supposed that the others also had meant to choose him for the true Pope; that it was only when he heard at Anagni the explanation which the rest gave of the nature of their votes, that he perceived the election to have been unreal.

Now if this statement of De Luna's is correct, and it would be hard to contest it, none of the electors could have signified to Urban that they were not choosing him as a true, but only as a provisional Pope. And yet, on the other hand, is it credible that if the Cardinals had meant to elect him only provisionally, they could have failed to signify to him the nature of his position? Certainly if they did practise upon him so odious a deception, they had no cause for surprise when afterwards he refused to believe what was in its own nature so incredible. Certainly if they did, a secret reservation of this kind must be deemed null, and that is why we submit that in urging this strange plea they were giving away their case.

If in their Encyclical letter the Cardinals were obliged to acknowledge that they had at least in some sense elected Urban, and we have learnt otherwise

that whatever reservation they may have intended was purely internal, we have further evidence that externally many of them professed clearly that the election was without any reservation whatever. This is certainly true of Pedro de Luna, as we have heard, and the Italian Cardinals also persisted throughout in the same story; saying that they themselves had meant to elect him, but that they had been induced, when at Anagni, to believe the election invalid, because the votes of the rest turned out to have been unreal. Also St. Catharine of Sweden, a Swedish princess, who was present in Rome during the Conclave, whose rank gave her access to reliable information, and whose sanctity is a guarantee for her truthfulness and impartiality, made a deposition, in which it stated that

While the Cardinals were in the Conclave, the adversaries [*i.e.*, the Clementines] were agreed about electing the Lord Urban, then Archbishop of Bari. Being asked how she knew this she answered that she had heard it from the Cardinal of Poitiers, and many other Cardinals, namely, that they had elected the said Supreme Pontiff unanimously and with a good and perfect will, and exhorted the said lady [herself] to believe and hold firmly that he was the true and legitimate Pope, elected canonically and at the bidding of the Holy Spirit.¹

Further, the Cardinals of Limoges, of Viviers, and d'Aigrefeuille in giving their votes, and perhaps others, used the form, "I elect him to be the true Pope."² Thus we have at least nine Cardinals, of whom it is proved that they had no thought of electing a provisional Pope. If of the other seven nothing certain is directly known, we may at least,

¹ Rinaldi, n. 23, in ann. 1379. ² Gayet, i. 322.

when supported by the evidence previously given, think it probable that these also, whatever in common with the three above-mentioned Ultramontanes they may have said at Anagni, gave a real and not a delusive vote.

And to these arguments add this last, that the Cardinals by their story are compelled to bear witness against themselves : witness so terrible, that even in their interest we should prefer to disbelieve it. If their witness is true, what men they must have been ! In Cardinals of Holy Church one would expect to find a noble Christian courage, and yet they represent themselves to us as the victims of the most abject, the most grovelling fear. They elect under fear, but elect fraudulently. They return from their place of security the next day, set the elect on the throne, proclaim him to all. Having given the example themselves, they stand by watching, while others on the faith of their word pay homage to one whom they would not dream of kneeling to unless he were the true Pope. They actually go through the religious ceremony of crowning him, although if their later witness is true, that act was sacrilegious. They co-operate with him in public acts of the highest importance, the validity or invalidity of which affected the peace and well-being of kingdoms, such as the promotion of Charles IV.'s son, Wenceslaus, to the Empire. And they persist in this fraud for three months ; not disclosing it until the disclosure became desirable in order to secure themselves against Urban's contemplated reform in their lives and incomes. Is it not more rational to reject a story which lands us in so many contradictions, and believe

that these Cardinals, though they afterwards drifted into a grievous sin, and involved the Church in a long schism, were guiltless at the time of the Conclave of the multiplied wickedness with which they afterwards charged themselves?

To say, however, that the Urbanist succession was valid is by no means the same as to assert that it was seen to be valid by the world at that time. We have the testimony of St. Antoninus, an excellent witness who lived on the borders of that age and wrote its history, and who tells us, that

Each party or obedience, had many scholars learned in theology and canon law all the time that the schism lasted, and even men of the greatest piety, nay (what is more) men illustrious for miracles; nor could the question ever be so cleared up as not to leave doubts in the minds of many.¹

And Pastor tells us that

The extreme confusion is evidenced by the fact that canonized saints are found amongst the adherents of each of the rivals. St. Catharine of Siena and her namesake of Sweden stand opposed to St. Vincent Ferrer and the Blessed Peter of Luxemburg, who acknowledged the French Popes. All the writings of the period give more or less evidence of the conflicting opinions which prevailed, and upright men afterwards confessed, that they had been unable to find out which was the true Pope.²

It must be observed, however, that the two St. Catharines were in a better position to estimate the evidence than the other two mentioned. They lived nearer to the spot, and had the question brought under their notice from the moment when it first arose. St. Catharine of Sweden, as we have said, was in Rome at the time of the Conclave, and was familiar

¹ *Chronic.* pt. iii. tit. 22, cap. 2.

² *Ibid.* p. 138.

with most of those who took part in it. St. Catharine of Siena, though at Florence, had for some time been labouring actively in the cause of the re-establishment of the Papacy in its natural home, and had her hand on all the springs of authentic information. St. Vincent Ferrer, on the other hand, was at the time of the Conclave a young Dominican at Barcelona engaged in his studies, and did not come into contact with any of the persons concerned till seven years later, when he heard the story from the interested lips of Pedro de Luna. Blessed Peter of Luxemburg was also far off in his own country, and still younger when Urban was elected. He was then but ten years old. He also only came in contact with the party of Clement some years later, and he died at the early age of eighteen. St. Vincent, too, although for a long time he adhered to Pedro de Luna at Avignon, became afterwards convinced that Pedro was in the wrong, and was mainly instrumental in detaching France and Spain from his allegiance. In the testimony and conduct of these saintly persons, we have the advantage of evidence which is at least free from the suspicion of insincerity or of any lower motives.

We have terrible accounts of the condition of the Church while this disastrous schism was running its course.

Uncertainty [says Pastor] as to the title of its ruler is ruinous to a nation; this schism affected the whole of Christendom, and called the very existence of the Church into question. The discord touching its Head necessarily permeated the whole body of the Church; in many dioceses two Bishops were in arms for the possession of the episcopal throne, two abbots in conflict for an abbey. The confusion was indescribable. (*Ibid.* p. 141.)

"Kingdom rose up against kingdom," says Abbot Ludolf of Sagan, "province against province, clergy against clergy, theologians against theologians, parents against children, and children against parents." And we can readily imagine what further evils must have sprung from the all-pervading discord, evils all the more lamentable because the schism occurred just when there was urgent need for large reforms in the life of clergy and people. We must not, however, imagine things to have been worse than they really were. The fact that all through the schism a preacher like St. Vincent Ferrer could be passing through every country, stimulating the fervour of the just, and arousing sinners to penance on every side, shows how possible it was even then for the spiritual power of the Church to assert itself, for the good corn to hold its own in the midst of the tares.

* * * * *

Although the different nationalities ranged themselves differently around the rival claimants to the Papacy, all were united in deploring the schism, and in demanding its removal. How the good must have deplored the evil needs no explanation. And the worldly-minded sovereigns also soon discovered that they had more to lose than to gain by its continuance. Rival Popes meant contests everywhere, and so grave an unsettlement of consciences as a sovereign found it hard to deal with. And then an Antipope needed to be supported, and supported exclusively by his own obedience; and the Churches of France soon discovered how heavy a financial burden, far exceeding the taxation against which they had complained in former days, was now laid on their shoulders.

But how was the reunion of the two obediences to be obtained? Urban, as we have already heard, proposed the convocation of a General Council and offered to submit to its verdict on the facts. This plan was not acceptable to the Cardinals, and passed out of account till much later. In the earlier years of the schism the efforts for reunion took chiefly the form of inquiries into the facts of Urban's election, and discussions of the points of law involved. When Urban died in 1389, after an eleven years' reign, hopes were for the moment formed that a settlement might be reached by the general recognition of Clement. But the Roman Cardinals were not prepared to pay for reunion so great a price as the acceptance of another Avignon succession. They accordingly elected Peter Tomacelli, who took the name of Boniface IX.

Boniface, on his election, wrote in friendly terms to Clement, urging him to resign, and offering in that case to make him Apostolic Legate to the lands which were at the present acknowledging his authority. When this offer was refused he next sent legates to the French King, begging him to work for reunion. This led to the University of Paris being invited by the King to consider the best steps to heal the schism, and from that time we find the University taking the lead. It proposed three plans: (1) that Boniface and Clement should simultaneously resign and a new appointment be made by the two Colleges of Cardinals fused into one; (2) that the question should be referred by the contending parties to arbitrators by whose sentence they would undertake to abide; (3) that a General Council should be convened. The first plan

seemed the best, and it was at once proposed to the two Pontiffs. The Cardinals at Avignon found it acceptable, and pressed it upon their master. But Clement upon this was so enraged that his health became seriously affected, and very soon after he was seized by a stroke of apoplexy and died. (September 16, 1394.) Here was another good opportunity of ending the schism, and the University of Paris urged the King of France to use his influence with Clement's Cardinals, and induce them to delay filling up the vacancy until it had been first ascertained what Boniface was willing to do for the peace of the Church under the new circumstances. But the Avignon Cardinals, for whatever reason, were not of that mind, and having heard of the message from the King while it was on its way, they resolved to anticipate its arrival, and elected Cardinal Pedro de Luna, who took the title of Benedict XIII.

Before the election, however, all the Cardinals bound themselves by oath to work for the extinction of the schism, and each engaged that if elected he would be ready to resign the dignity whenever such a course should seem to the majority of his Cardinals to be required by the interests of peace. As Boniface was like-minded, one might have imagined that the desired peace would not be long delayed. But the difficulty was that each party believed firmly in his own title, and was fearful lest resignation should be taken to imply a doubt about its validity. It is to this effect that Pedro de Luna expresses himself in his answer to the French King's messengers when shortly after his election they arrived at Avignon and finding him installed already in the place of

Clement, proposed to him the plan of simultaneous resignation.

Pedro's refusal on these grounds naturally aggravated the ambassadors immensely, seeing that he had himself quite recently been striving in favour of the plan and had urged it on his predecessor; seeing also that his own Cardinals now united with the royal ambassadors in pressing it upon him, and thereby supplied the condition on which he had undertaken to resign when he took the oath previous to election. In their desire to end the schism quickly, and their perplexity how to do it except by the way of mutual cession, the University of Paris recommended that pressure should be put upon Benedict by withdrawing allegiance from him, without, however, transferring it to Boniface. The withdrawal took place in July, 1398, and as the greater part of his Cardinals joined in it, Benedict found himself almost entirely without a following in France. This state of things lasted for five years, when on Benedict escaping from the captivity in which he had been held at Avignon, and making the French King some overtures which proved to be delusive, he was acknowledged in France once more.

It was at this time that in order to give some evidence of sincerity he sent an embassy to Rome. Boniface, whose plan for abolishing the schism was like that of his predecessor, the summoning of a General Council, held some discussions with the legates of his adversary, but in the midst of them succumbed to a disease from which he had been for some time suffering. Another excellent opportunity thus arose, and the Roman Cardinals at once inquired

if the legates had authority to promise resignation on the part of Benedict, offering that in that case they would delay the election of another Pope until arrangements could be made for the two Colleges to unite in conducting it. But Benedict had no intention of resigning, and his legates had received no faculties to promise this in his name. The Roman Cardinals were accordingly driven to proceed at once to the choice of a successor to Boniface. After each had bound himself as before to resign, if elected, should the cause of reunion require it, they elected Cardinal Cosmato Migliorati, who took the name of Innocent VII. (1404.) Innocent followed his predecessors in looking to a General Council as the true remedy, and he at once proceeded to summon one to be held at Rome in a year's time. But seditions, arising in the city from the substitution of a weaker hand for the strong rule of Boniface, effectually prevented this Council from being held at the appointed time, and in the following year (1406) Innocent's short reign came to an end.

The fairest hopes were conceived from the character of the next Pope of the Roman line. Angelo Corario was at an age when personal ambition seemed no longer conceivable. He was, moreover, known to be most anxious for reunion, and the Cardinals who elected him felt implicit confidence in the sincerity of his intentions. On the other hand, it was known that Benedict had been coerced by the sovereigns of his obedience to promise resignation when either his rival should promise the same, or should be removed by death. It may be said why in that case did the Roman

Cardinals not defer the election? But it was dangerous, in the disturbed state of Italy, to leave Rome without a ruler, and so it seemed better to elect one who had bound himself like Benedict to resign if the Church's interests required it, and who could be trusted not to break his word.

Gregory XII. (for so the new Pope styled himself) by his first step justified the confidence placed in him. He sent at once to propose a personal interview with Benedict to arrange for their mutual resignation, and he offered to accept any place of meeting which his rival might select. Benedict, with more craft than generosity, named Savona, a town in Savoy, where Gregory would have been completely in his power. Gregory, nevertheless, at the first agreed to the nomination, and though much disappointed and full of anxiety, after some delay and negotiations, moved in that direction. Eventually, however, he drew back. He was greatly blamed for this step, which was taken as evidence that he was insincere after all in his professions of readiness to sacrifice himself for the good cause. It may well be that he had sound reasons for his refusal. Rightly or wrongly he suspected Benedict of foul play, of endeavouring to draw him into hostile territory, not with any view to mutual resignation, but only to get possession of his person, and so ensure the continuance of the rival line. Still, whether these suspicions were well grounded or not, it is at least certain that Gregory's own Cardinals shared the opinion that he was playing false, and seven out of the eleven abandoned him. Benedict's Cardinals also at this time departed from their chief in the conviction that no effectual measure

for the restoration of unity could be expected of him. The Kings of France, Germany, Hungary, and Navarre likewise withdrew from their previous allegiance to Benedict and Gregory. Thus was formed a neutral party, proposing to itself to work for the union of the conflicting obediences by compelling the resignation of the two claimants.

The seceding Cardinals of both obediences met together at Leghorn in Etruria in July, 1408, and issued an Encyclical letter convoking a General Council for the following year at Pisa, and summoning to attend it the bishops, prelates, doctors of theology, and princes of Christendom. Gregory and Benedict were also called upon to appear and fulfil their promises to resign, and were told that if they refused to confirm the action of the Council, it would deem itself competent to act independently of their sanction. To this step Gregory responded by convoking a Council of his own at Aquileia, on the plea that Pisa was an unsafe place for him to attend; and Benedict for the same reasons convoked one at Perpignan, a city which at that time lay just within the Spanish borders.

The Council of Pisa met at the appointed time, and after useless negotiations to obtain the presence or submission of the contending Popes, proceeded to depose them both. We say depose, but there is a tone of hesitation in the language of the sentence, reflecting the doubts about the legitimacy of their position which were current among the members. The two Popes are pronounced to be notorious schismatics, heretics, and perjurers, and on this account *ipso facto* deprived of their office. Only on

this basis does the Council modestly venture to add its own declaratory sentence of deprivation. The charge of perjury had reference to the oath each Pope had taken at his election to resign when the cause of reunion demanded it. The charge of schism meant that they were dividing the Church for their own personal interests. The charge of heresy is harder to make out. Certainly there was not the faintest trace of heresy to be detected in either Gregory or Benedict. But there was a theological opinion, of a somewhat academic character, that a Pope who should lapse into open heresy *ipso facto* ceased to be Pope, and they were anxious to avail themselves of this idea to supply for the uncertainty of their own judicial competence. Thus they sought to discover constructive heresy in conduct which might be deemed to imply contempt of the article of faith: "I believe in *One*, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

Having deposed the two Popes, they proceeded to elect another, Peter Philargi, who took the name of Alexander V. And thus it came to pass that, since Gregory and Benedict still continued to hold their ground and retain the allegiance of many, the Council which had sought to extinguish the schism succeeded only in aggravating it the more. There were now three lines of claimants to the Papacy instead of two; for when Alexander died in the following year his Cardinals elected Baldassare Cossa, who took the name of John XXIII.

It was in connection with the summoning of the Council of Pisa that certain theories concerning the relation of the Pope to the Church came into promi-

nence, which had hitherto been unheard of, or at least heard of only among men who, like Occam and Marsiglio of Padua, were notoriously disloyal spirits. The University of Paris was at the time the most distinguished home of theological science in the world, and prominent among its doctors were three men: Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Chartier, more usually called from his native place John Gerson, and Nicholas de Clemanges. Naturally the discussion of the most legitimate means of extinguishing the schism fell into their hands. They were all zealous adherents of the Church, who would not wittingly have set forth theories opposed to orthodoxy or destructive of the Church's constitution. But we must make large allowance for the bewilderment caused by the schism, and when that is done, it is not so difficult to understand how these doctors could devise the doctrine that although the Pope is the lawful superior of every individual member of the Church, he is not superior but subject to the Church as a whole, and therefore to a General Council in which the entire Church finds a voice through her representatives. This, it will be recognized, is the fundamental tenet of Gallicanism. It is imagined by some that Gallicanism is the primitive Catholic doctrine which has had to give way before a more modern Ultramontanism. The fact is that Gallicanism, the doctrine subordinating a Pope to a General Council, does not go back beyond the time of this schism, and that the doctrine called Ultramontanism is the only doctrine which has a true title to be styled primitive. However, Gerson's influence, assisted by the difficulties of the time, commended

his novel theory to the Council of Pisa, where, although he himself was not present, it found its exponent in his friend Pierre d'Ailly. We shall hear more of the doctrine presently.

This Gallican theory is of course not tenable, but even after it has been set aside we may still inquire whether the proceedings at Pisa were justifiable and valid. Excellent authorities have deemed that they were. They have argued that the Church, as represented by the Cardinals, or otherwise in their default, has the right to elect a Pope when the Holy See is vacant, and that for this purpose, as from the nature of the case they cannot, so they need not to be convoked by a living head. Their task is to determine the person, not to convey the authority. His authority is conveyed to the elect direct from God. But if it belongs to the Cardinals, or in their default to a representative assembly, to elect the Pope, must it not belong to the same persons to decide, in case of doubt, which is the true Pope, and even, if the doubt be insoluble, to set both aside and elect a third? So at least the argument presents itself to many minds and leads them to the belief that the Council of Pisa, though no legitimate Council for passing decrees on matters of faith, or for exercising superior authority over the Church, was within its competency in deposing Gregory and Benedict and electing Alexander.

There seems, however, to be a flaw in this argument on account of which it ought to be rejected. If indeed the contending Pontiffs had titles which were *in themselves* doubtful, the power to determine the doubt might reasonably be ascribed to the

College of Cardinals, and in their default or with their permission to a General Council. But if the doubt in regard to one or other of the claimants attached not to the character of the election in itself, but only to the views concerning its validity entertained by a large body of the faithful, then it is not so easy to see on what ground the Cardinals or a Council could claim any such competence. For the Pope thus truly elected is the true Pope endowed with the plenitude of power by direct grant from our Lord, and is therefore as the supreme ruler of the Church in no sense subject to the jurisdiction of others for the examination of his title. Of course, if Gerson's doctrine were correct, the Pope would be subject to a General Council, but we are discussing now only whether apart from Gerson's doctrine the Council of Pisa had any standing ground. For the reasons given it does not seem to us that it had, since we take it as demonstrated already that Gregory, as the successor of Urban, was the undoubtedly legitimate Pope. Believing this, we cannot feel surprise that the result of the unauthorized action of the Council of Pisa aggravated instead of removing the evil. None the less we can recognize the good faith of the members of the Council, placed as they were in an extremely difficult position.

To return to history. We have seen that the result of the Council of Pisa was only to add a third line of claimants, and so things lasted through the next five years. Then (1414) another Council assembled, this time at Constance. It was convoked by John XXIII. and at no other Council had a greater multitude been brought together. There were present three patriarchs,

twenty-nine archbishops, about a hundred and fifty bishops, a hundred abbots, three hundred doctors of theology, and innumerable ecclesiastics. To these were added the Emperor Sigismund in person, and representatives of all the Courts in Christendom, together with a vast number of noblemen of all ranks. The accretion on the ordinary population of the town was estimated at 100,000, and although all such computations are wont to be gross exaggerations, it is clear that the numbers present were very large.

John XXIII. was desirous that this Council should regard itself as a continuation of that of Pisa, the one on which his own claim to authority rested. He was counting also, to support him against a growing feeling that he was in the way, on the large preponderance of Italian prelates in the assembly. In both these desires he was disappointed. The general anxiety was to secure the resignation of the three claimants, and therefore to do nothing which would impede this eventuality. It seemed better therefore to leave in abeyance the question of the legitimacy of the previous Council and the *status* of John. Again, the other nations not wishing to be outvoted at every step by the Italians, and having greater influence with the holders of power, obtained an unprecedented voting arrangement. The bishops and prelates are the authoritative teaching body in the Church, and it is they, and they only, who have the right of suffrage in her Councils. At Constance, however, the idea was not to elicit the voice of the teaching body, but to give representation to all Catholic interests. Hence all present were divided into four nations, Italian, German, French, English,

to which four a fifth was afterwards added for Spain. In the separate assemblies of each nation the subjects were first considered and determined by a majority of votes, the right of voting being accorded not to prelates only, but to the clergy of the second order, and even to the laymen. Then succeeded a general meeting, in which the "nations" cast their votes, and the decision thus taken was next referred to a General Congregation of the whole Council for final acceptance.

This arrangement was disastrous to the hopes of John XXIII., who, perceiving it, was brought to his knees, and induced to promise that he would resign. But thinking that his life was in danger, he presently withdrew by secret flight to Schaffhausen. This put the Council in a great perplexity. They were now a headless assembly. How could they proceed further? However, while they took measures to bring back the fugitive, they decided on their competency to continue without him, and, in a fourth and fifth session, they drew up two decrees to the effect that they were "a Council legitimately assembled, representing the Universal Church, and having authority immediately from God, to which every man, of whatever state and dignity, *even if it were Papal*, was bound to submit in everything appertaining to the faith, to the extinction of the schism, and the reformation of the Church in its Head and members." These decrees were of great importance, as we shall see in a moment.

John XXIII. was brought back after a short absence, and submitted himself to the Council, by which he was quickly deposed. The sentence makes mention of charges similar to those laid at Pisa at the

door of Gregory XII. We need not inquire into their truthfulness, but we may say incidentally that John was a very different man from Gregory, thoroughly worldly and with a bad record of past conduct, at least during his earlier life. Nevertheless, he was not the monster which the Council makes him out to be.

We have given our reasons for accounting Gregory to have been throughout the true Pope and therefore unaffected by the proceedings of Pisa. This being so, Alexander and John never obtained the rights of the Papacy ; but had they done so on the principle that, in view of the uncertainty of title in Gregory and Benedict, the Council of Pisa was competent to set those aside and elect Alexander, the deposition of John at Constance would have been altogether invalid. John, however, added his own personal act of resignation to the sentence of his self-appointed judges, and thereby prevented any theological difficulty from arising.

The mischief wrought at Pisa was now remedied, and things returned to their previous condition. But what was to be done? The members of the Council were under the predominating influence of D'Ailly, Gerson, and Zabarella who thought with the two distinguished Parisians. They were thus inclined to give practical effect to the doctrine which these divines had recommended so enthusiastically to their notice, and exercise their pretended supremacy even over valid Popes by confirming the sentence of Pisa against Gregory and Benedict, and proceeding to a new election. The decrees, which have been mentioned, of the fourth and fifth session were intended as a basis for such action. The Council was saved,

however, from repeating the scandal of Pisa by a magnanimous step on the part of Gregory.

Gregory had bound himself to resign when Benedict did, but now he determined to trust the Council of Constance and go beyond his undertaking. Learning that John was now deposed, he sent his excellent friend and supporter, John of Malatesta, to King Sigismund, and begged that Sovereign in his quality of Protector of the Church to preside over the assembly for the moment. If this were done he authorized his representative, Malatesta, first to convoke the Council in his name, thereby giving it full conciliar *status*, and then into the hands of the Council so convoked to resign his Papacy. Although some pretence was made by the members of vindicating their previous intentions by declaring that Gregory's offer was only accepted *ex abundantia*, there can be no doubt it was accepted with the greatest joy, and before many days were over the convocation and the resignation (both of which Gregory at once confirmed) were made. By July, 1415, Benedict was the only obstacle still remaining.

Benedict, however, was not like Gregory. Although Sigismund went in person to Spain to induce him to add his resignation to the others, he continued immovable. It was then that St. Vincent Ferrer, who had originally held by this claimant but had gradually come to disbelieve in him, used his great influence with Benedict's supporters to cause them to abandon him. Largely owing to St. Vincent's exhortations, a meeting was held at Narbonne, when the Kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre came to an agreement with Sigismund to withdraw allegiance from a man

who in his obstinacy seemed to them to stand self-condemned. From that moment his following dwindled away into insignificance, and he retired to hide himself in the rocky fortress of Peniscola, off the Spanish coast, the only corner of the world where he could still find recognition. Had he been a valid Pope, it is difficult to see how withdrawal of allegiance from him on the part of those who believed in his title could be justifiable. But since a separation of the entire Church from its rightful Head is impossible, the isolation in which Benedict stood from that time onwards can at least be taken as a sign that his title had been bad from the first. And in any case, fourteen years later his succession came to an end by his pseudo-Cardinals electing Martin V., who had already been acknowledged for twelve years by the entirety of Christendom.

John and Gregory having resigned, and Benedict having become utterly discredited, the way was now open for the election of a Pope whom all would recognize. Nevertheless, two years were allowed to intervene owing to the false principles in favour at Constance, and during that time the Council sought to agree upon measures of reform, under which name they included certain limitations of the exercise of Papal right, which they hoped to press the more efficaciously on the new Pope if previously enacted by themselves. However, they could come to no agreement over the reforms required, and with the growing weariness there was mingled the growing realization that it was impossible by any previous engagement to bind the subsequent conduct of a Pope. Whatever he might agree to previously to

election, he could agree to only on the condition that it should continue to appear to him expedient for the good of the Church. If after election he should see sound reasons for changing his mind, it would be his duty as well as his right to change it, and there was no earthly power above him to restrain him. Accordingly, on November 11, 1417, Cardinal Otho Colonna was elected Pope by a unanimous vote of the Conclave, and as it was St. Martin's day, he would be called Martin V. The schism of thirty-eight years was at last over, and people hardly knew how to contain themselves for joy.

All the bells of Constance sent forth peals of rejoicing. A multitude, which is reckoned at eighty thousand, flocked from all quarters to the scene of the election. The Emperor himself, forgetting the restraint of state, hurried into the room where the electors were assembled, and fell down before the Pope, who raised him up, embraced him, and acknowledged that to him the peaceful result was chiefly due.¹

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Our story is now told, not indeed adequately, but sufficiently to let the reader see what theological issues are involved. These issues are two in number: one, which was stated at the commencement of this tract arising out of the broad fact of the long continued schism; the other emerging out of the history of the methods employed to terminate it. It will be convenient to consider first the latter of these two questions.

Did the Church become in any way committed to the doctrine broached at Constance, that the Pope, though supreme over every individual member of the Church, is not superior over but subject to General Councils?

¹ Robertson's *History of the Church*, vii. p. 396.

We shall not attempt to deny that the decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions, of which we have given the purport, were intended to declare the abiding subordination of Popes to Councils, and not merely the subordination of the particular Popes, accounted to be doubtful, whose conduct was then under examination. An important class of Catholic writers have tried to explain the decrees in that more tolerable sense which the words taken alone do undoubtedly permit. But the decrees must, it seems to us, be read in the light of the sentiments entertained by those who framed them, and as the intention of the framers was manifestly to accede to Gerson's doctrine, and they used Gerson's own phraseology, we prefer to side with Hefele and hold that the decrees were meant to affirm a permanent and constitutional supremacy of Councils over Popes.

Still what the framers of the decree may have intended is of small direct consequence. At that time they were but a headless body, and they did not even follow the usual precedents in their mode of voting. The question of consequence is whether Martin V. ever gave his confirmation to the decree, for only thus could the Church become committed to its acceptance. It is claimed by Gallican writers that he did. Towards the close of the Council Martin V., then Pope, declared by word of mouth, in terms which are preserved to us in the *Acta* of the Council, that he "wished to observe and not in any way to contravene all and everything that had been determined, concluded, and decreed by the present Council, *conciliariter* and *in matters of faith*." The Gallicans argue that "matters of faith" is a phrase which

includes the decree in question, and that therefore they were accepted by Martin. But this is an argument so insufficient that the marvel is how any one can be moved by it. Martin was most unlikely to approve a doctrine so subversive of Papal power, as he everywhere else interpreted it. We ought therefore to require the clearest evidence before taking his words of approval as bearing that meaning. Nor do they at all point to it. The Council of Constance had before it three subjects for consideration: the faith, the extinction of the schism, and the reformation of the Church in Head and members. These three phrases are continually being employed by the members. By the faith was meant the affair of the Hussites; by the reform of the Church in Head and members was meant the restriction of simony, of reservations, dispensations, &c., on part of Pope and Bishops. Hence when Martin approved of what had been done in reference to *faith*, he was not contemplating the two decrees under notice, but only what had been done against the Hussites and some other similar heretics. The very occasion which elicited his so-called confirmation shows this to have been his mind. The ambassador of the Grand Duke of Lithuania was anxious for the condemnation by the entire Council of a book written by John Falkenburg which was said to contain false doctrine.

Thus Papal confirmation was demonstrably never given to Gerson's doctrine, and, as we have already observed, it is Papal confirmation only which would have committed the Church to its acceptance. This, however, is a point which may not at once be clear to

the reader, and, as it is of consequence, a few words of further explanation seem required.

The conflicting doctrines, then, are these. The ancient doctrine, called by its adversaries Ultramontaniam, with the view of suggesting that it is only the opinion of a school and not the doctrine of the Church, holds that the supreme authority in the Church is by Divine appointment in the successor of St. Peter ; that the Bishops, whether as individuals or collected together in Council are always his subjects ; and that accordingly their office in a General Council is not to rule or revise his government, but to aid him with their counsels and support him by loyal adhesion to his judgments. The new doctrine, born as we have seen of the difficulties in terminating the schism, held that, since the Pope is for the Church, the Church is above the Pope, who is therefore also inferior to a General Council, which is but the Church finding voice in her representatives. Being found by the French Kings a most serviceable instrument in their persistent policy of subordinating Church to State interests, it was taken up by them and assiduously fostered. Thus it came to bear the name of Gallicanism. France was throughout the focus of its influence, an influence rendered the greater by the distinguished talent of the French theologians: but it spread somewhat beyond the borders of France, and in particular took root among English and Irish theologians, to whom perhaps it commended itself the more as being more acceptable to the Protestant sovereigns whose penal laws they were deprecating. The doctrine lived on, as we all know, till the Vatican Council, when the antiquity and truth of the opposite

doctrine was solemnly defined. As the Vatican definition was that of Pope and Council combined, it bore upon its face, even according to Gallican principles, the stamp of infallible authority : and accordingly those Gallicans who were genuine Catholics had no difficulty in adhering to it in the spirit of loyal obedience. In so doing they were only acting in consistency with their own previous principles. If there were some who stood out and drifted into "Old Catholicism" and such-like heresies, it was because these were not mere Gallican Catholics, but persons already infected with the poison of heresy.

With the aid of this brief statement, it can now be seen why in estimating the significance of the decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions of Constance we are concerned only to ascertain whether they received Papal confirmation. That the decrees by themselves could advance no claim to infallibility is at least clear to all Catholics from the Vatican decisions. It might, however, be urged by non-Catholics that Papal Infallibility stands self-condemned, since at Constance it sanctioned the Gallican doctrine contained in the said decrees, while in the Vatican Council it condemned it. Such a charge needed to be examined and refuted ; but we have seen that it can be refuted with complete success. Martin V. never gave any sanction at all to the two unorthodox decrees.

* * * * *

The second question we have to consider is this. How can unity be an essential mark of the Church, if a schism lasting so long can destroy the Church's unity at its very centre ?

The answer is not so difficult as might be

thought. Throughout this tract the customary designation has been retained, and we have spoken of the Great Western Schism. But this schism was not a schism in the ordinary sense of the term. For by schism is ordinarily meant withdrawal of obedience from one who is known to be the unquestionably legitimate Roman Pontiff. It is quite possible and likely that the authors of the mischief, whom we cannot but identify with the Cardinals who withdrew from Urban after electing him, were schismatics in the true sense. But the name is not truly applicable to the vast number of prelates and Christian people who, amidst so many conflicting testimonies, were utterly unable to discover which was the true Pontiff. These were not schismatics, because they acknowledged the Papal authority, did their best to discover who was its true living incumbent, and were prepared to submit at once when the discovery was made. There was, moreover, a true Pope all the time, for the fact that this truth was involved in doubt for many minds did not make it less a truth; and this true Pope was a true fountain of authority and a true centre of unity to all the world. To the large numbers who were in overt communion with him he was centre of unity and fountain of authority in the formal and direct sense, and to all those who through no personal fault were in overt communion with his rival, he was still centre of unity and fountain of authority in a very real sense. It was he towards whom their efforts to ascertain the truth were leading them, and in return, since his excommunication were never meant to brand those who were only the victims of inculpable error, they were enjoying the fruits of his jurisdiction

in their reception of the sacraments from the pastors whom they deemed to be legitimate.

But it will be said, granting all that you say, is it conceivable on the supposition that the Papacy is the divinely appointed centre of the Church's unity, that God could have permitted such general uncertainty as to the true occupant of the Apostolic See to endure for nearly forty years? The answer to this is that we can only gather what is consistent with God's Providence from the actual facts. God has chosen to invite the co-operation of man's will in the election of Popes, as in the perpetuation of other Divine institutions; and where there is an elective system there is a necessary liability for doubts and disputes over the results to arise. God might interpose specially to prevent these, and He will certainly watch lest the effects should be so far-reaching as to destroy altogether an institution whose continued existence is essential to the continued existence of the Catholic Church. But beyond that we have no means of deciding at what point God must owe it to His own Majesty to interpose. We can only start from the antecedent presumption gathered from His general dealings with man's free-will in other departments of human life, which indicate that the permission of evil will probably be very large, and then go on to read the actual determinations of His Providence in the actual events. If they seem to us at times as in the case of the great schism to be perplexing, we must await the day when God's counsels will disclose themselves to us under a clearer light. And at the same time we must be careful not to fix our attention so exclusively on the dark side of the events which

trouble us as to forget that there is another challenging our attention. If it is a marvel that a schism in the Papacy should have been allowed to last for forty years, is it not a still greater marvel and a manifest proof of the supernatural character of the Papacy, that it should have been able to survive so great a strain, and recover all and more than all its pristine majesty?

Still, if we must be careful not to exaggerate the laceration of the Church's unity through this schism of thirty-eight years, let us not attempt to deny that it was a terrible scandal and did incalculable harm. It must have caused the loss of innumerable souls while it lasted, and in weakening the reverence for Papal authority it paved the way for the real schism which arose a century and a half later, and is still continuing. The responsibility for so much evil must have pressed heavily on its reckless authors when they stood to render their account at the bar of the Divine justice, and it would have been well if the warning of their example had been more assiduously before the minds of those who came after them. The true lesson of the schism is to teach us how much harm can be done by powerful sovereigns when, in the furtherance of their purely temporal interests, they use the sword to overthrow God's appointed order, and subordinate Church to State. The French Kings in this were doing exactly what Henry VIII. did later. In the one case the result was to involve the entire Church in the calamities of a thirty-eight years' schism. In the other the result was to involve a noble people in the still worse calamity of utter and far more prolonged separation from their rightful participation in the Church's sacraments.

Rome's Witness against Anglican Orders.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

A LITTLE Anglican pamphlet entitled, *Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders*,¹ is one of the most recent publications of the Church Defence Society. Its object is to show that the best Roman Catholic authorities have consistently rendered testimony to the validity of the "Episcopal Succession and Priesthood of the Church of England;" in other words, to the validity of Anglican Orders. A formidable array of Catholic names, including Popes, and Bishops, and Theologians, is cited, and under each some passage is quoted, or action imputed, which as they stand appear to lend colour to the contention. On the assumption that there is indeed so much and such valuable Catholic acknowledgment of Anglican Orders, it may well seem surprising that there should be so many among us who take an opposite line. But Mr. Butler's suggestion is that these are only persons of inferior information or charity, or even of inferior honesty:²

¹ *Rome's Tribute to Anglican Orders: A Defence of the Episcopal Succession and Priesthood of the Church of England, founded on the testimony of the best Roman Catholic authorities.* By the Rev. Montagu R. Butler. London: Church Defence Institution, 1893.

² Pp. 1, 2.

persons, therefore, whose opinion may be safely disregarded.

It is natural that a tract arriving on such grounds at a conclusion so favourable to the Anglican position should be welcomed and widely read: natural also that Catholics on whose attention it is triumphantly pressed should desire to see a criticism of it from some one of their own writers. The present tract is written in answer to many such expressions of desire.

For the Anglican clergy generally we have always felt the genuine respect which is due to earnest, devoted, and well-intentioned men. Even when they write against the Catholic Church, although their misconceptions and consequent misstatements are frequently truly surprising, it is the exception (though there are such exceptions) if we are unable to believe that they write in perfect good faith. We should be very sorry, therefore, if the judgment we are compelled to pass on Mr. Butler's tract were to be taken as any intended reflection on the body to which he belongs. Rather we should like to include these among the readers to whom we appeal, when we venture to denounce Mr. Butler's tract as simply a work of fraud quite unworthy of their patronage. Of course this is a very serious view to take of a work coming from a minister of religion, and one which should only be made under a serious sense of responsibility. But readers must judge whether the facts are consistent with a more lenient view. To aid them in their judgment we will commence by collecting together some of the author's statements in which the fraud is at once palpable.

The following passage from the Appendix of *Cardinal Newman's Apologia* is quoted on page 8.

As to its [the Church of England's] possession of an Episcopal Succession from the times of the Apostles, well, it may have it, and if the Holy See ever so decided, I will believe it, as being the decision of a higher judgment than my own.

In other words, the validity of Anglican Orders was in the Cardinal's judgment so incredible that nothing short of an express decision of the Holy See could induce him to bow his reason and believe it. And yet on these words Mr. Butler places the interpretation that Cardinal Newman at heart believed in Anglican Orders, and only withheld the expression of his belief because he was not permitted to give it.

The words which have been quoted convey the strong impression that Dr. Newman, after his secession, really suspected that to be true, in regard to Anglican ordinations, which he had received no personal sanction to admit.

At all events, Mr. Butler must have known that the Cardinal's *very next* sentence conveys a very strong impression that his personal belief was dead against the Orders. "But for myself," he goes on to say, "I must have St. Philip's gift, who saw the sacerdotal character on the forehead of a gaily attired youngster, before I can by my own wit acquiesce in it, for antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts." Was it less than fraud so to stop the quotation as to omit these words, not to mention the omission to say that over and over again elsewhere Cardinal Newman had declared most unmistakably his disbelief in these Orders?

On page 44, *Father William Humphrey, S.J.*, is quoted as saying,

I do not defend the position [*i.e.*, the position of the Roman Church of England].¹ I do not think it defensible, inasmuch as I do not believe it to be true, that we represent the pre-Reformation Church of England in the sense of our being a continuation of that body. They [Anglicans] represent it, but in the manner I have mentioned. We are a *new mission* straight from Rome—the centre, the source, and ever-living well-spring of Christianity.²

On these words Mr. Butler comments as follows :

When it is considered that no Church authority in any true sense can exist without a continuity of Holy Orders, the expressions of Father Humphrey furnish a strong presumption that he believes the ordinations of the English Church to be at least valid.

This "strong presumption" would hardly have been recognized by his readers had Mr. Butler allowed them to know that in his very next page Father Humphrey says :

It is to me, my dear friend, the greatest consolation that they [the Anglican Orders] are absolutely invalid : and for this reason—were they valid, England would be probably at this moment under a curse : the guilt of sacrilege would rest upon her, and upon her children (p. 56),

namely, because of the treatment accorded by so many generations of Anglican clergy to their "consecrated elements." Honesty should have also suggested to Mr. Butler to let his readers know in what sense Father Humphrey recognizes Anglicans to represent, and us English Catholics not to represent, the pre-

¹ These bracketed words are Mr. Butler's. Father Humphrey's entire book is precisely in defence of "the position of the Roman Church in England."

² *The Divine Teacher*, p. 54.

Reformation Church of England. Father Humphrey had just said,

I admit, it [the Anglican Communion] does represent the pre-Reformation Church, but I distinguish; it represents it as a corpse represents him who was once a living being.

Then follows the passage quoted by Mr. Butler. And almost immediately after the sentence quoted, he adds:

The Church of England is the dead branch hewn from the tree, and lying on the ground; we are the new shoot from the parent stem, which has taken its place. In this sense we represent the ancient Church of England.

Dr. Lingard is likewise cited, on page 39, as a witness, and two pages are devoted to his "exposure of the dishonesty of opponents of the Anglican succession." *Dr. Lingard*, in his *History of England*,¹ and again in two letters, in August and September, to the *Birmingham Catholic Magazine* for 1834, maintains strongly the historical truth of Parker's consecration by Barlow and others, and says that it cannot honestly be denied that the entry in the Lambeth Register is genuine. If Mr. Butler had quoted *Lingard* merely for this, no objection need have been taken, though it would not have greatly served his cause. But he quotes *Lingard* as maintaining that the Orders are *valid*, and this although he knew well from Mr. Hutton,² and from Dr. F. G. Lee,³ if not from the *Birmingham Catholic Magazine* itself, that twice in his letters to that periodical, *Lingard* says distinctly that he is contending "only for the fact of his (Parker's) consecration, not for its validity."

¹ Vol. vii. pp. 262, 263, Edit. of 1844.

² *The Anglican Ministry*, p. 126.

³ *Validity of Anglican Orders*, pp. 187, 448.

On page 38 we have "the testimony of *Canon Estcourt*," and three dexterously selected extracts from his *Question of Anglican Ordinations*, are given in such a way as to suggest to an undiscerning reader that that work was a defence of Anglican Orders instead of being the most powerful indictment against them. In the same way, on page 43, *Mr. Arthur Hutton*, another writer of a powerful book against these Orders, is cited as a witness in their favour. What these two writers state in the passages which Mr. Butler endeavours to misconstrue, is that the present Anglican Ordinal might possibly suffice to convey valid Orders if employed by Bishops of undoubted orthodoxy. They both add what Mr. Butler forgets to add, that the ambiguity of the Ordinal is such that when employed by Bishops as unorthodox as the consecrators of Parker, it was quite inadequate.

We put these instances, to which some others might be added, in the forefront, because in them the misrepresentation is so palpable. Let the reader judge how far a book which is capable of these is worthy of credence in its other statements. Our own testimony about the rest of the work is, that fraud is apparent everywhere. However, it is hardly worth while to pursue further this purely personal issue. It will be better to confine ourselves to the question whether Anglican Orders can command any Catholic testimony in their favour.

To this question the general answer is this. We must distinguish between the authoritative action of the Church, and the opinions of individual Catholics. Whether Anglican Orders are valid or not is a

question of fact rather than of doctrine, and even to this day there is nothing to prevent an individual Catholic, for instance a convert clergyman, from believing them to be valid. Accordingly some have had this belief, although their number is very small, and consists mostly of persons of an eccentric temperament. But Church authority has been consistent in its practical attitude to these Orders throughout. From the days of Queen Mary to the present time it has never wavered in ignoring them and ordaining afresh, whenever any one who had previously received them has applied to be admitted to her ministry. It is this latter proposition which is alone of any importance, and to this we shall devote the main portion of the present tract. Afterwards, and as a matter of minor consequence, we will inquire shortly whether Mr. Butler has not gone greatly beyond the facts in reckoning up the private opinions in favour of his Orders from among Catholic writers.

Have these Anglican Orders been at any time recognized by the authorities of the Catholic Church?

It will conduce to clearness if before examining Mr. Butler's witnesses we state briefly what is meant by Anglican Orders, and why we disallow their validity. The separation of England from the unity of the Catholic Church took place in 1534. Henry VIII. died in 1546, and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI. All this time Cranmer was a leading spirit among the so-called Reformers, and it is beyond dispute that Cranmer disliked greatly the Catholic doctrine of Holy Orders; that is to say, the doctrine that, through this sacrament, when rightly adminis-

tered, a mysterious gift is imparted to the recipient, whereby he becomes empowered to consecrate the Blessed Sacrament, and to perform the other sacramental acts proper to the Order to which he has been raised. Cranmer's own view was that bishops and priests are such by the appointment of Christian princes, that imposition of hands as an Apostolic rite is to be retained, but that it is only a ceremonious way of conveying his appointment to the recipient, and that no mystic power whatever is imparted thereby. As long as Henry was on the throne, Cranmer had to pocket his scruples and use the old Pontifical when he held his ordinations, and this Pontifical continued in use during the first three years of Edward VI. At length, in 1549, the Archbishop saw his way to overcome the intense opposition to his desire, and to substitute another Ordinal more according to his mind. A commission was appointed, nominally to devise the new service, but in reality to sign and sanction with some appearance of learned unanimity a service which Cranmer had already prepared. The new book became law in the spring of 1550. It omitted all the unctions, and the delivery of the vestments, and it introduced radical changes into the character of the prayers, not merely throughout the service, but even in the sacramental form. It retained imposition of hands, and till 1552, when it was further modified, the delivery of the chalice and paten, though without the words which indicated the sacrificial character of the priesthood.

By Anglican Orders then we mean those given according to this Ordinal. During the reign of

Edward only six episcopal consecrations belong to the category, those of Poynt, Hooper, Coverdale, Scory, Taylor, Harley; although Ferrar, consecrated in 1548, before it was drawn up, seems from Cranmer's register to have been by anticipation consecrated after its method. The ordinations to the priesthood during this short period are more difficult to calculate. Under Elizabeth this Edwardine Ordinal came into use again, and was used at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, a consecration which, if invalid, invalidates the entire Orders of the Anglican clergy, since they are all derived from it.

It is not necessary here to explain all the reasons for suspecting Parker's consecration. But the main reason may be usefully indicated, since its nature is so persistently misunderstood by Anglicans. It may be introduced by an illustration from a case of doubt about the validity of certain baptisms referred by St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, to Pope Zachary¹ in the eighth century. St. Boniface wrote to say that certain priests had administered baptisms with the form, "In nomine patria et filia et spirita sancta," and inquired² whether these baptisms were to be taken as valid or invalid. The Pope answers with a distinction. Was the perversion of the proper form due to an heretical intention on the part of the minister, or merely to his ignorance of Latin grammar? If the former, the baptisms were invalid;

¹ Pope Zachary's letter is in Mansi, *Conc.* xii. 325; and ap. Franzelin, *De Sacramentis in Genere*, p. 48.

² For the sake of readers who do not know Latin, it may be explained that the proper form is, "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti" ("In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost"); and that "patria" means country, "filia," daughter, whilst "spirita sancta," is gibberish.

if the latter, valid. The decision was according to common sense. When language is ambiguous, and as such susceptible of two or more meanings, men naturally recur to the mind of the speaker to determine which of the possible meanings he intended. Now in the Edwardine Ordinal extensive changes had been made in the old rite with the express object of eliminating the alleged Popish superstition that a mystic power over the sacraments is imparted and of preserving only what was consistent with the Protestant doctrine of an appointment by purely human authority.¹ Anglicans maintain that whatever may have been the purpose of the compilers, their changes did not succeed in taking away the bare essentials of a valid rite. They left imposition of hands, and a form capable of bearing a Catholic construction. Let us grant that this is so, although the concession is very generous. Still the rite remains, to say the least, ambiguous, and the ambiguity must be determined by the opinions of those who authorized it and those who used it. The principle applied by Pope Zachary has its similar application here.

It is absurd to retort against this argument, that according to all Catholic theologians, even an heretical minister administers valid sacraments as long as he has a "general intention to do what the Church does through that sacrament;" for this principle applies only to cases where the matter and form employed are those sanctioned by the usage of the Catholic Church, or are at least free from ambiguity. If ambiguity has been introduced into the form, laying

¹ Estcourt, chap. vi. vii.

it open to an heretical construction, an heretical intention in the minister is for the reason given altogether fatal to validity.

We are now in a position to discuss Mr. Butler's cases of supposed recognition of Anglican Orders by Catholic ecclesiastical authority, and we will take them in order.

a. It is said, on page 6, that the *Council of Trent* "invited the English Bishops, as *Bishops*, to join in the deliberations of the Council;" and, "though its attention was directed to the affair, distinctly refused to pronounce the English Bishops to be no Bishops."

Ans. (1) Pius IV. does seem, and naturally, to have invited Elizabeth to send representatives to the Council of Trent (just as he also sent invitations to the other Protestant princes), but there is no proof that the invitation styled the Anglican "Bishops" by that name, and even if it had, such a designation would not imply that they were recognized as Bishops by consecration, or that they would have been allowed to sit as such. Their case would have been investigated, and the evidence considered. It is also not clear that at so early a date as 1561, the Pope knew the circumstances of the Elizabethan consecrations. It would have been more candid then of Mr. Butler to mention here (and elsewhere) that he was giving not a recognized fact, but merely his own interpretation of one. For a fuller account see Hutton,¹ whose convincing argument Mr. Butler finds it more convenient to ignore than to meet.

(2) It is possibly though not probably true, that

¹ Pp. 132, 134.

both Pope and Council declined expressly to condemn Anglican Orders, and it is certain that they declined at that time (1561) to excommunicate Elizabeth. But why is it not mentioned that the reason for declining whatever was declined was not any belief in the Orders, but fear of bringing down a heavy persecution on the English Catholics?¹

b. "The Irish Bishop, *O'Hart* of Achonry, asserted (at Trent) that on the score of not being appointed by the Pope, the English prelates were no true Bishops, but he added, 'We refute them by this reason only, for they show that they were called, elected, consecrated, and given mission.'"²

Ans. This also is a bubble which Mr. Hutton has effectually pricked.³ The Bishop of Achonry's speech was made in November, 1562, and at that date he also may not have known much about the facts of Parker's consecration. These facts, be it remembered, were kept so secret that the Catholics of England knew nothing of them till long after; and O'Hart was from the west of Ireland, where no consecration with the Edwardine Ordinal took place till two years later (1563). Probably, as Mr. Hutton shows, the Bishop had in mind the consecrations under Henry VIII.; for "the Bishop speaks distinctly of the King (not the Queen), and his words precisely describe the schismatical consecrations which took place under Henry VIII." O'Hart's argument is, that it is much easier to convince Anglicans of the falseness of their position if jurisdiction is derived immediately from the Pope, than if immediately from God: because then one can shelve the argument they

¹ *Ibid.*² P. 7.³ Pp. 129, 130.

raise from their alleged consecration, confirmation, &c. For an argument like this it was of more consequence what Anglicans thought about their Orders, than what O'Hart himself thought.

c. At the head of Section iii.¹ we read, "*Julius III.* confirms Anglican Orders; *Paul IV.* reconfirms them"—a statement calculated to make a man rub his eyes with surprise. We are naturally curious to learn how the feat of proving it will be accomplished. Well, let us see :

On the 8th March, 1554, Pope *Julius III.* sent a Brief to Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring him to absolve and reconcile Bishops and Priests made in Edward VI.'s time; but instead of telling him that they were to be reordained, His Holiness commanded the Cardinal to confirm them in the Anglican Orders which they had already received, and to reinstate them, "after by you they shall have been restored to the unity of Holy Mother Church, and you shall have thought good to reinstate them, if in other respects they shall be accounted by you to be worthy and fit." The Pope further specified that those who had received the Anglican consecration should be regarded as having had the "gift of consecration already bestowed."

And again :

Dr. Nicholas Sanders testifies that the Anglican Episcopal Orders which were officially recognized and confirmed under Papal authority by Cardinal Pole, received additional recognition from another occupant of the Holy See, for they were "established and confirmed afterwards by the letters of Paul IV."

The reference given for this last statement is, "*De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. ii. Sanders."

Ans. It will be noticed that the phrase, "Anglican

¹ P. 8.

Orders," which occurs several times in these passages, always occurs outside the quotation marks. In other words, it is not Julius III. or Nicholas Sander, but Mr. Butler who says that the Orders to which the Popes accorded their recognition were Anglican Orders. This, again, is a point which has been carefully discussed by Canon Estcourt. Is it because Mr. Butler finds the Canon's arguments too convincing that he prefers to disregard them altogether and be content with stating his own extraordinary opinion as a recognized fact?

The Bull of Julius which alone touches on the question of Anglican Orders, is the second of the two sent to Pole, and bears date March 8th, 1554. It distinguishes the clergy appointed during the schism into two classes, "those who have *never* and those who have *improperly* (*male*) received Orders." It likewise distinguishes the Bishops appointed during this period into two classes, "those who have received and those who have not yet received the gift of consecration." In the case of those who have been validly consecrated, three possible cases are stated as those which he may require faculties to deal with: (1) Those who have been consecrated by heretical or schismatic Bishops, or (2) otherwise improperly (*minus rite*), or (3) without the accustomed form of the Church being preserved. Of course it is antecedently possible that the phrase, "without the accustomed form of the Church being preserved," may have been used in reference to Orders conferred by the Edwardine Ordinal. But it does not even then follow that the Pope recognized these Orders as valid. It only follows that he thought their validity

or invalidity was a matter which would require investigation. It is not likely that he would have wished to take an investigation of that kind upon himself; it is much more likely that he would have wished to leave it to Pole, who would conduct it on the spot. Thus the myth that Julius III. recognized Anglican Orders disappears.

d. But Mr. Butler also claims *Paul IV.*, who succeeded Julius III., as recognizing these Edwardine Orders; and this on the authority of Sander, who is alleged to have said that Paul "confirmed all that had been done by Pole in execution of the orders received from Julius." It is doubtless true that Paul IV. confirmed Pole's action, and therefore we will not raise the objection that the statement, like that about Fisher taking the Oath of Supremacy,¹ does not come from Sander, who was a contemporary, but from his interpolator, who was not a contemporary. However, before we can gather any conclusion from the confirmation given by Paul IV. we must first ascertain what was done by Pole.

e. Here again Mr. Butler is very confident.

We may fairly cite *Reginald Pole*, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, as on the side of those who have acknowledged Anglican Orders. Acting under Papal authority, to which we have already referred, His Eminence confirmed "the gift of consecration already bestowed" in the case of English prelates. In the words of his own document he confirmed such persons *in suis ordinibus etiam ab hæreticis et schismaticis episcopis . . . per eos susceptis*. . . . It would be absurd to conjecture that Pole did not believe the ordinations, which he so confirmed, to be real. (p. 15.)

¹ On this point see the *Tablet*, Nov. 9 and 16, 1889, and *The Month*, Dec., 1889.

It will be noticed that here also there is nothing within the quotation marks to indicate that the Orders confirmed were "Anglican Orders," that is, Orders conferred by the Edwardine Ordinal. That these are the Orders referred to is, in fact, only an inference of Mr. Butler's; an inference, too, that would perhaps commend itself still less to the reader if Mr. Butler had allowed them to see the words which he has preferred to suppress. Let us supply the omission; and it will be better to give the passage in English. The document, by the bye, is not a confirmation at all. It is the grant of faculties from Pole to the Bishops to enable them to reconcile persons within their dioceses. In it he authorizes them to dispense with such persons "in every kind of irregularity contracted," . . . "and notwithstanding all such irregularity and other aforesaid impediments," to allow them to "minister in their Orders, even if these have been received from heretical and schismatical Bishops, even if unduly, *provided that the form and intention of the Church was preserved*" (in conferring them). The italicized words are those which Mr. Butler suppresses, substituting his dots in their place. And yet what these italicized words do is just to exclude the Anglican Orders, or Orders conferred by the Edwardine Ordinal. And they were manifestly inserted with the express purpose of excluding them. How are we to characterize such tampering with a quotation?

In fact, although the Pope left it to his discretion to deal with cases in which the usual form of the Church had not been fully observed, Pole in all his grants of rehabilitation is careful to insert the clause,

“provided the form and intention of the Church has been preserved.” Could we have a clearer proof that he judged after investigation that where the form of the Church had been departed from, the departure had been of such a character as to invalidate altogether the Orders conferred by it? There is not a single case of any one of the six Bishops made by the Edwardine Ordinal being continued in office by Pole, as Mr. Butler knows very well.

As for the clergy of the second order, it is more difficult to determine whether any of them were taken on or not after the re-establishment of the true faith. Although, therefore, we can be sure from the terms of the episcopal faculties that if any were taken on they must have been ordained afresh, yet we cannot appeal to any direct proof that such persons were ordained afresh. This much, however, we can say: Dr. Lee's attempt to prove that some were taken on without reordination from the fact that there is no mention of reordination in the episcopal registers which have been searched for the purpose, proves nothing at all. It is not the custom in the Church to refer in the entry of an ordination to any previous inefficacious ceremony. In our own age many Anglican clergymen have after their conversion been promoted to Catholic Orders. In no case is it probable that any record of the previous Anglican ceremony would be found in our episcopal registers.

- We are not, moreover, without some direct evidence that the same course was followed with the Edwardine priests and deacons as with the Edwardine Bishops. This evidence may be read in Canon Estcourt's pages. Here it will be enough to say that

it falls under three heads : (1) That in the reign of Elizabeth, in his Visitation of 1561, Parkhurst, the Anglican Bishop of Norwich, inquired "whether any that took orders in King Edward's days, not contented with that, were ordained again in Queen Mary's days;" (2) that during Mary's reign certain ecclesiastics are spoken of in dispensations, visitation articles, &c., as having administered sacraments during the schism without having been ordained priests, or as having "intruded into benefices under colour of priestly orders;" (3) that in the ceremonial degradation of those condemned for heresy under Mary, Edwardine Orders were consistently left out of account. Thus Latimer and Ridley, who had been consecrated by the Pontifical, were degraded from the Episcopate; Hooper and Ferrar, two "Anglican" Bishops, only from the priesthood. Bradford, an "Anglican" deacon, was treated as a layman, and not degraded at all. It has indeed been urged that Ridley, according to Foxe in one place, was only degraded from the priesthood. But this, as Estcourt shows, is a mistake, or misstatement, of Foxe, who elsewhere in three places gives us to understand that Ridley was accounted by his judges to be in true Episcopal Orders.

f. Bishop Bonner is another of Mr. Butler's witnesses.¹ He is alleged in his Visitation articles (1554) to "have allowed Anglican priests to say Mass, but desired that they should be 'reconciled' and 'admitted by the Ordinary' before they were permitted to continue the exercise of this function." He is also alleged to have recognized the episcopal

¹ P. 17.

consecration of Scory by calling him, "Our beloved brother John, late Bishop of Chichester," in a document dated July, 1554, rehabilitating Scory from the suspension incurred by taking a wife, and permitting him to "exercise the public functions of his ecclesiastical ministry and pastoral office."

Ans. It is a pity Mr. Butler could not find room to quote along with the article from Bonner's Visitation articles, the corresponding article among those sent by the Queen to Bonner in which it is said: "Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders after the new sort and fashion of Orders, *considering they were not ordered in very deed*, the Bishop of the diocese . . . may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, and according to his discretion, *admit* them to minister."¹ For this comparison of the two articles suggests that "admission" might involve "reordination." However we grant that Bonner might have spoken his mind, whatever it was, more clearly, both here and in his rehabilitation of Scory. The latter is restored to "the exercise of his ecclesiastical ministry and pastoral office." Such phraseology is of a decidedly Lutheran cast. Taken in a Catholic sense, a bishop's "pastoral office" is his episcopal *jurisdiction*, and Bonner could hardly have meant to accord Scory that in his own diocese of London. But it is sufficiently evident from the text of the grant and its circumstances that all granted was leave to hold and administer a parish in the diocese of London: and, as Scory had undoubtedly been validly ordained to the priesthood, such a grant raised no question of the validity of the

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 89.

Edwardine Ordinal. As for the term, "beloved brother," it is a mere term of social and legal significance, and proves nothing. Legally, it must be remembered, Scory had been Bishop of Chichester. What, however, is chiefly to be observed in regard to these acts of Bonner's, is that they were done in the first year of Mary, before Pole had arrived and apart from instructions or faculties received from him. If we grant that Bonner, who had joined in the schism so largely and had not as yet cleared up his ideas sufficiently on the theological question, did not distinguish between the two sorts of Orders, we are granting what will not avail Mr. Butler very much.¹ Canon Estcourt² quotes a passage from this prelate's Homilies, published in 1555, which makes it very clear that he had then come to regard Anglican Orders as of no value whatever.

g. h. j. Mr. Butler next claims as having given official recognition to Anglican Orders, the three Popes who were the next successors of Julius III. on the Papal throne: *Paul IV.* (for the second time), *Pius IV.*, *St. Pius V.*

"It is worthy of note that the Pontiff (Paul IV.) offered to confirm the English Book of Common Prayer," and "as an important part of the said book was the Ordinal of the Church of England," the offer "was a direct acknowledgment of the validity of Anglican Orders." Also "Lord Coke," writes Dr. Littledale, "stated that he had often heard that Pius IV. (Coke said Pius V.) had offered to accept the Book of Common Prayer: and that he had also

¹ Lee, *Validity of Anglican Orders*, App. p. 387; Estcourt, p. 38.

² P. 59.

frequently conferred with noblemen of the highest rank in the State, who had seen the Pope's letter." And Dr. E. L. Cutts records that "Pius V. acknowledged that the Book of Common Prayer 'contained nothing contrary to the truth, while it comprehended all that is necessary to salvation.'" ¹

Ans. For an able refutation of this curious Anglican myth the pages of Canon Estcourt² must be consulted. It is not surprising that Mr. Butler, who has read Canon Estcourt's chapter, should have felt it more prudent to drop no hint which could suggest its existence to his readers.

It will be sufficient here to set down a few facts which no one can possibly dispute, and which we take over from Canon Estcourt, having however first verified them. Coke, in the passage from his Norwich Charge (1606), which Mr. Butler mentions, names as the Pope who made the offer, Pius V.; and he is very distinct about the man, for he says it was the Pope "who presently excommunicated Elizabeth," and that certainly was Pius V. But Dr. Littledale quietly corrects Pius V. into Pius IV., whereas Dr. Cutts leaves the name of Pius V. unaltered. Mr. Butler then gives us Coke *per* Littledale, and Coke *per* Cutts, and by this simple expedient obtains two Papal witnesses instead of one. Paul IV. is also only another correction of Coke made by Dr. Robert Abbot, who says, "Coke was mistaken in saying Pius V. when he ought to have said Paul IV."

Coke and Abbot wrote some half-century after the alleged date of the offer. About the same time Andrewes and Camden also record the offer as

¹ Pp. 10, 11.

² Chap. viii.

having been made, but are not able to agree among themselves over essential particulars. When we go back to earlier authorities we find Father Parsons in his *Brief Discourse* saying in 1580, "Therefore that which hath been given out (as is said by some great men), that the Pope, by his letters to Her Majesty, did offer to confirm the service of England, upon condition that the title of supremacy might be restored to him again, is impossible to be so; so that if any such letters came to Her Majesty's hands, they must needs be feigned and false." To this statement of Parsons, his Protestant opponents Fulke and Wyborne reply that they never heard of any such report. Wyborne says he "leaves to the authors that first invented such brabbles to occupy men's heads withal," to determine whether they be true or not.

In the face of these various and inconsistent statements, and the intrinsic incredibility of a Pope making any such offer, Canon Estcourt concluded that the whole story was concocted by Elizabeth and her counsellors. Pius IV. certainly did send two legates to the Queen in the hope of regaining her and her kingdom to the Catholic Church: Parpaglia in 1560, and Martinengo in 1561. Although neither of them was allowed to cross the Channel, the letter of accreditation carried by Parpaglia became public.¹ But this is the only letter from the Pope to the Queen of which there are any traces, and it contains nothing but an assurance that the Pope would do for her all in his power "for the salvation

¹ See Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 33, Edit. 1635; or Estcourt, p. 358.

of her soul," and the "establishing and confirming" of her "princely dignity." How then account for the very different account of the Papal offer, for the unquestionable truth of which Coke and others pledged their word? Was it not a natural inference that the Queen and her counsellors, who were by no means troubled with excessive candour, had seen in Parpaglia's embassy and letter an excellent nucleus out of which to construct a useful story, and induce Catholics to attend Protestant service by making them believe that the Pope had sanctioned it? So, at all events, it seemed to Canon Estcourt, and so, till quite recently, it seemed to ourselves.

But a further piece of evidence bearing on the subject, which, although not new, having been referred to by Mr. Crosbie in his Preface to the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1559—1571,¹ had otherwise passed unnoticed, was pointed out by Mr. Bayfield Roberts in a letter to the *Guardian*, May 31, 1893. This additional evidence is, we understand, considered by Anglicans to place the reality of the Pope's alleged offer to sanction the Book of Common Prayer beyond doubt. Most unquestionably it does not do that; but it certainly revolutionizes all previous opinions on the nature of this curious history, and as it has not yet been discussed, it will be convenient to use the present opportunity of investigating its true value and significance.

Under the date June 21, 1571, Sir Francis Walsingham, the English ambassador at the French Court, wrote to Lord Burleigh an account of a

¹ P. xxxiii.

conversation held with the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici. The subject was the projected marriage between Elizabeth and the Duc d'Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France. Elizabeth and Charles IX. were at this moment both very desirous for political reasons that the marriage should come off, but the religious difficulty was raised, the Duc d'Anjou insisting that the free exercise of the Catholic faith should be permitted to him, and Walsingham, on the part of Elizabeth, representing that such a permission would be incompatible with the tranquillity of her realm. In his conversation with the Queen Mother, one of the arguments employed by Walsingham to induce Henry to forego this demand, was the self-same argument from the supposed Papal approval of the English Prayer Book which we have seen used by Coke and others some forty years later.

I showed her that sudden change [from Catholicism to Protestantism] was not required [of Anjou], the same being referred over to God whose office it is to change hearts, but only the forbearing of his Mass, and to content himself with the form of our prayers, whereof I showed him I had delivered a copy unto Monsieur de Foix,¹ which form of prayer, madam (quoth I), the Pope, as I am informed, would have by council confirmed as Catholic, so the Queen my mistress would have acknowledged the same as received from him.²

That Walsingham should have said as much to Catherine proves nothing. He was quite capable of telling her an untruth if it suited his purpose. But opposite the last clause of the passage there is this marginal note, in a different hand: "An offer made

¹ An ecclesiastic whom it was proposed to send over to England to conduct the marriage negotiations. ² *C.S.P. Foreign*, June 21, 1571.

by the Cardinal of Lorraine, as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton showed me." It is into the significance of this note that we have to inquire.

In the first place who wrote it? Mr. Bayfield Roberts in the *Guardian* takes it as Walsingham's. But it is not in Walsingham's handwriting, and could not well have emanated from him. Sir N. Throckmorton had been the ambassador to France from 1559 to the end of 1563, and any communication received from the Cardinal of Lorraine must have been made before the latter date. If received it would have been communicated as a fact of importance to Cecil, who could hardly have needed to be reminded of it eight years later by Walsingham. There is no necessity, however, for recourse to inference, as the handwriting of the note can be identified as that of one of Cecil's secretaries. It reappears in the endorsement of the document entitled "Prolongation of the Queen's Majesty's expenses."¹ Hence the note runs in Cecil's name.

We may start therefore from this historical certainty, that in June, 1571, Cecil believed that an offer of the kind stated had been made to Throckmorton by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and that it had been made between 1559 and 1563.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this is disastrous to the testimony of Coke and Abbot. It does not confirm, but overthrows what they avouch. For Abbot tells us that the Papal "*letter* was well known amongst us as a subject often brought forward in Parliament, and mentioned by the Queen herself . . . mentioned also in sermons in the Queen's

¹ May 31, 1571, *C.S.P.* n. 1755.

presence with an appeal to her as vouching for it :” and Coke says,

This is the truth concerning Pope Pius Quintus, as I have faith to God and men, as I have oftentimes heard it avowed by the late Queen in her own words : and I have conferred with some lords that were of greatest reckoning to the State, who had seen and read the *letter* which the Pope sent to that effect as have been by me specified. And this upon my credit, as I am an honest man, is most true.

Either Coke¹ and Abbot, or else their informants, have not shown themselves honest men ; for their point is that the offer was definitely made in a well-known letter, whereas it is clear from Cecil's marginal note that no such letter existed. Had he known of evidence so much more definite and original he would have noted this and not merely “an offer from the Cardinal of Lorraine, as Sir N. Throckmorton showed me.”

A second conclusion from the marginal note must, it seems, be that Throckmorton did really receive from the Cardinal of Lorraine some communication which he construed into an offer that the Pope should “by council confirm” the Book of Common Prayer : and that Cecil likewise on receiving the news gave it credence. It is difficult to avoid this conclusion from the note, although no doubt it is strange that we should find no reference to the offer in the numerous letters from Throckmorton to Cecil which are preserved in the State Paper Office and catalogued in Father Stevenson's Calendar. When

¹ Coke afterwards protested against the general incorrectness of the report of his charge, but it is unlikely that he had in view the language of this passage. At all events Anglicans have hitherto so reasoned. However, let him have the benefit of any doubt there may be.

we further inquire for the date of the "offer," it seems probable it was made in 1560 or 1561, possibly in 1562. At that time the Guises were in power, and it was still hoped on the Continent that Elizabeth might after all be reclaimed to the Church. Pius IV. was then sending over Parpaglia and Martinengo, and the Cardinal of Lorraine would have been anxious to forward their business. We know too of a conversation held with Throckmorton, out of which the "offer" might easily have grown. Re-counting in June, 1561, an interview with Mary, Queen of Scots, when he had sought to attract her towards Protestantism, Throckmorton told her the "Cardinal had confessed to him that there were great errors and abuses come into the Church, and great disorders in the ministers and clergy, insomuch as he desired that there might be a reformation of both." Mary replied that "she had often heard him say the like."¹ The form also of the "offer" points to the same approximate date. "The Pope in council, as I am informed," says Walsingham, "would have confirmed" (the form of prayer). By "council" must be here meant the Council of Trent, which was to be resumed in the spring of 1562: for otherwise Walsingham was experienced enough to use the right phrase, "in consistory."

The "offer" then was really made, but what was its character and significance? Very little indeed. It is antecedently, as has been observed, a most inconceivable thing that a Pope should have offered to sanction the Book of Common Prayer, especially if

¹ Throckmorton to the Queen, June 13, 1561. *C.S.P.* n. 265.

we are to comprise in the designation the Communion Service, Ordinal, Articles, &c. We require therefore the most decisive evidence before lending credence to the story. An authenticated letter from a Pope making the offer in distinct terms would of course be evidence reaching this required standard, and the story as told by Coke and the others had the advantage that it took that form. But the existence of any such letter is now effectually disproved by Cecil's marginal note, and in its place we have left nothing but a personal offer from the Cardinal of Lorraine that the Pope should confirm the Prayer Book in the Council. Or rather we have not even that, but only Walsingham's, or at best Throckmorton's, impression that the "offer" amounted to this much. Mr. Crosbie, in his Preface already referred to, observes that the Cardinal was the Papal Legate in France, and suggests that the offer must therefore have emanated from Rome. But he was only, being Archbishop of Rheims, *legatus natus*, or what the Archbishops of Canterbury were before the Reformation: he was not *legatus a latere*. Any formal offer from the Pope would not have come through him, but through the Nuncio, the Bishop of Viterbo.

In short, the evidence we have points merely to something of this kind. Throckmorton had perhaps spoken to the Cardinal on behalf of the Book of Common Prayer as the kind of formulary on the basis of which he imagined Protestants and Catholics could be brought to reunite,¹ and the Cardinal, anxious to get the English to Trent, may have responded by a proposal that the matter should be laid before the

¹ Cf. Throckmorton to Cecil, December 28, 1561. *C.S.P.* p. 751.

coming session of the Council. As the question of Breviary reform which soon after resulted in the introduction of St. Pius V.'s Breviary, was then to the front, the idea would naturally suggest itself. But there is no reason to suppose that the Pope knew anything at all about the proposal, much less authorized it: and even the Cardinal of Lorraine had presumably not examined the book with care or perhaps even seen it. Nor if he had could any conclusion of importance be deduced. Although a Cardinal, there was in him much more of the politician, than of the theologian. Such, when reduced to its proper dimensions, is the slight historical nucleus out of which was developed the myth of a distinct Papal offer to approve the entire contents of the Book of Common Prayer. We may now return to Mr. Butler.

We cannot deal with every statement in his book, but before passing on to his other witnesses we may remark in a single sentence, that it is another and an oft-refuted misstatement of which he is guilty when he says that no objection was taken by the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities to attendance at the Protestant services till 1570, when the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth stopped it. This excommunication had no bearing whatever upon the subject, and does not refer to it in a single sentence. The more clear-headed Catholics refused from the first to attend Protestant services, whilst those who did attend defended their action on the ground that they only attended as spectators and did not join in the heretical worship.¹ Of course this is said of those

¹ See *Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism*, pp. 57—61, by the present writer.

Catholics who were endeavouring to be faithful to the ancient religion. There were besides unfortunately large numbers driven by the royal terrors to the sacrifice of their conscientious convictions. But the conduct of such persons cannot possibly be cited as evidence that the Catholic authorities saw no harm in it.

k. Urban VIII. is brought forward as the next witness.

That he not only appreciated the high character of Archbishop Laud, but also admitted the authority of that Anglican prelate to exercise the sacred functions of Episcopacy, is shown by the fact that the Papal offer of a Cardinal's hat was twice made to Laud—once on the very morning his predecessor died, and again on his own accession to the Primacy in 1633. (p. 12.)

Ans. That some person did make Laud an offer of a Cardinal's hat on the two occasions mentioned, and that that person did profess himself able to make good the promise, is clear from the entries in Laud's diaries.¹ But it is a wonderful jump from the fact of this mysterious offer on the part of an unknown person to the conclusion that Urban VIII. sanctioned it. Probably the message came from some member of the household of Queen Henrietta Maria, who was a Catholic. She may have thought she could obtain the hat from Rome. But even if the Queen had such an idea, or the Pope either, it must be shown, and it will be hard to show, that there was no condition attached requiring Laud first to reunite England to the Catholic Church on the basis of complete submission to the Papacy,

¹ For August 4, and August 17, 1633.

and to accept reordination and reconsecration from Catholic prelates.

l. Innocent XI. is the next Pontifical witness. But, as the author truly remarks, the efforts to bring about reunion which this Pontiff is said to have sanctioned, related to German Lutherans, not to Anglicans. In this case it should be clear even to Anglicans that ordination by Catholic Bishops must have been regarded by the Pope as a necessary condition. They ought, therefore, in consistency, to perceive that an invitation to return to the Catholic Church addressed to Anglicans does not necessarily involve recognition of their Orders. We must know the terms on which the return was considered practicable, and whether these did not include receiving fresh Orders.

m. Innocent XII., in 1693,

Solemnly defined that the King, James II., was bound to maintain and defend the succession (of the Non-Juring Anglican Bishops), as long as the laws of the kingdom, under which the Anglican Church was established, were in force. Had His Holiness held the English Episcopate and priesthood to be invalid or sacrilegious, this judgment would of course have been impossible. (p. 14.)

Ans. Innocent XII. solemnly defined nothing. He only replied to an inquiry from James II., then an exile at St. Germain's, that he could lawfully issue a *congé d'élire* to the Non-Juror Bishops to enable them to continue their succession. A *congé d'élire* is a permission, and permission does not necessarily involve full belief in the rectitude of what is permitted. Or, if Mr. Butler thinks otherwise, at all events it would have been on that ground that

Innocent XII. based his answer, and along with him Bossuet and De Harlay, who appear to have previously advised the King in the same sense.¹

These are all the Popes alleged to have recognized Anglican Orders. For if "*Clement XIV.* heartily desired and personally laboured to bring about a union between the two Churches," he only desired what every Pope who has sat in the chair of St. Peter since the Reformation has desired, and according to his opportunities toiled for. We all desire reunion—but reunion without sacrifice of truth: in other words, reunion by way of the return of the schismatic bodies to their obedience to the Holy See. And on this ground we may likewise disregard, without further inquiry into the genuineness of his facts, Mr. Butler's citation of certain other Catholic personages, such as *Cardinals Barberini* and *De Noailles*, *Panzani*, and *Bishop Doyle*, whom he alleges to have desired and laboured for the reunion of the separated bodies with the Catholic Church. All of them may not have been quite orthodox in their conception of what would be required to make "reunion" possible, but they all held the Anglican position to be untenable, and submission to the Holy See to be essential; and none of them has committed himself, as far as we know, to the acceptance of Anglican Orders.

We have next to examine the cases of a few Anglican convert clergymen who, according to Mr. Butler, were allowed by the Catholic authorities to use their Anglican Orders. Of these cases we

¹ See Hutton, p. 138.

must say at the outset, that if the contention concerning them were made good, nothing would be proved except that certain Bishops are chargeable with a grave abuse. The Church's practical rule for her Bishops to follow is clear.

We are careful not to decide of ourselves a question which interests the whole Church, or to separate ourselves from the practice of the Holy See, and nearly all the Bishops and our own hitherto, in ordaining those who, having been ordained by the Anglican rite, ask permission to enter into the communion of the Roman Church thus to exercise the sacred ministry. If there were any question of a change so considerable, if we were under any necessity of pronouncing judgment on so important a subject, we should have recourse to the authority of the Holy See: we should consult the Bishops, our colleagues, &c.

These are the words of *Cardinal de Noailles*¹ (whom nevertheless Mr. Butler has no hesitation to cite as one of his witnesses) in his condemnation of Le Courayer's two books.

But let us hear the cases in which convert Anglican clergymen are alleged to have received ecclesiastical permission to use their Orders in the Catholic Church.

a. *Father Serenus Cressy, O.S.B.*,² converted in 1646. Mr. Butler quotes from his *Exomologesis* (an autobiographical work) a passage which, as it stands, might seem to imply that he believed in Anglican Orders. It ceases, however, to bear that construction when we discover that the author is describing not his actual views, but only those he had held during an earlier stage of his religious inquiries. Father

¹ Estcourt, App. xxxi.

² P. 27.

Cressy tells us that the progress of the great Rebellion forced him to contemplate the possibility of the Anglican Church ceasing to exist. In that contingency what was he to do? Among the courses open to him one was to become Presbyterian. But this system had not commended itself to him on account of its want of an episcopate. Eventually he was led to think of the Catholic Church, and learning to regard it with other eyes, he came at last to recognize it as the one true Church of God. Later he became a Benedictine and worked as a priest. Anglicans say that he was never reordained: but for this notion there is no other ground than pure conjecture. We may be sure he was reordained like every one else.¹

*b. Dr. Stephen Gough,*² a clerical convert of the same period. Of him it is alleged that "the Archbishop of Paris, being of the same opinion (viz., that Dr. Gough's previous Orders were valid), allowed him without reordination to exercise the functions of a priest in the archdiocese," and that on the rise of some opposition, repeated examinations by the Doctors of the Sorbonne resulted only in more emphatic approval of the Archbishop's action.

Ans. The authority for all this is that of a certain Obadiah Walker, as reported by the Anglican Dr. Prideaux in his *Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*.³ Against his testimony we have (1) the word of *Father Francis of Sancta Clara* (another of Mr. Butler's witnesses, although Canon Estcourt had previously given a long extract from him in dead

¹ See *Letter to Dr. F. G. Lee*, p. 251. By Dom Raynal.

² P. 28. ³ P. 78, Edit. 1716.

opposition to Anglican Orders).¹ Sancta Clara says that "Gough was reordained as all others have been."² This also is stated by Le Quien,³ an authority who had excellent means of information, and who mentions that the reordination took place in the presence of the celebrated Morinus. Dr. Dodd, the historian, who made his studies at the Sorbonne, further tells us, in his *Life of Gough*,⁴ that he searched in vain for any evidence of the supposed investigations of that body, and also that he was the possessor of a MS. work in defence of Anglican Orders by Dr. Cosin, who resided at Paris at the very time of Gough's conversion, and yet betrays no consciousness of a transaction which would have been so useful to his argument. We may be sure after all this, that Mr. Obadiah Walker has misled us.

c. Sir Harry Trelawney was a convert who lived well into the earlier half of this century. Unquestionably he believed in his Anglican Orders, and Dr. F. G. Lee⁵ transcribes for us the written testimony concerning him of his son, Colonel Jonathan Trelawney, and of Mr. Ambrose Philipps de Lisle, who had known the father personally. According to these witnesses, Sir Harry Trelawney frequently celebrated Mass on the sole ground of his Anglican Orders, and although he was obliged to leave England on account of Catholic opposition to his practice, he was able to continue it abroad "with the full knowledge and consent, if not with the approbation and license of the French and Italian authorities." At length in

¹ P. 235.

² *Ibid.* p. 236.

³ ii. 316.

⁴ *Church History of England*, vol. iii. p. 306. Folio Edition.

⁵ *Validity of Anglican Orders*, pp. 304, &c.

1830 he fell into the hands of Cardinal Odescalchi, who persuaded him to be reordained by himself "with a tacit condition, the sacramental form, of course, remaining untouched." Sir Harry, we are told, consented to this, not for his own sake, but to "remove the scruples of Roman Catholics."

Here we have a very circumstantial account by two upright witnesses, who tell us they received it from Sir Harry Trelawney himself: so that it is his authority on which it all rests. In the absence of any external means of testing it we must apply to the story the test of internal credibility. Nor is it difficult to read through the lines what occurred. That this convert was well-intentioned is quite clear, but it is also clear that he was wrong-headed. It is quite impossible to believe that he received any proper sanction from "the French and Italian authorities," for even if we could allow that his Anglican Orders were valid, he could not have lawfully used them until the suspension had been taken off which he had incurred by receiving them outside the Church. For instance, if an Anglican clergyman, ordained by a Bishop of the Order of Corporate Reunion, were to join the Catholic Church, and it were found on inquiry that his Orders thus received were indisputably valid, he would still be treated as under suspension, and forbidden their exercise until the suspension had been removed by competent authority. And again in such a case as Sir Harry Trelawney's, even if the Orders had been recognized, the suspension incurred by receiving them outside the Church would never have been removed until the omitted ceremonies, unction, tradition of the instru-

ments, &c., had first been supplied. This is our practice even with ordinations received among ourselves, whenever by any accident, as of illness, the ceremony of ordination has been interrupted after the imposition of hands, and before the further ceremonies have been reached. A convert like Sir Harry Trelawney could hardly have received sanction from any well-informed Catholic authorities to disregard a precaution wont to be exacted even in a case of omission among ourselves.

And then there is another important matter of Catholic practice which this story leaves out of account. To be able lawfully to say Mass it is not enough to be validly ordained and free from suspension. Every priest requires leave to celebrate in the diocese in which he is, and a foreign Bishop never gives that leave without the testimony of the priest's own Bishop, which is usually furnished by a *Celebrat.* Even then, the priest cannot say Mass in a private oratory without a further special leave; and on presenting himself in a foreign church, he must produce his papers. It would seem that Sir Harry Trelawney said Mass in his own house without due permission; and surely the Catholic Church cannot be held responsible for deeds directly contrary to her laws, any more than she is responsible for the deeds of those Anglican clergymen who succeed in imposing on the ignorance of some continental priest, and causing him to believe that they are Catholic priests in his sense of the word. Cardinal Odescalchi would naturally have desired to deal as gently as possible with this gentleman, and there could be no harm in allowing him to take his fresh ordination as con-

ditional; and it must be remembered that the Sacrament of Orders cannot be validly administered to an unwilling subject, so that a condition supplied by the recipient would have its efficacy. We have, therefore, in this instance nothing more than a very deplorable scandal, resulting more from wrong-headedness than from any evil disposition.

We have now examined all the cases in which the ecclesiastical authorities of the Catholic Church are alleged to have given practical acknowledgment to Anglican Orders, and have found them all wanting. Cases of private belief on the part of a few individual Catholics go for very little. But what is striking about these cases is that they are so few in number, and invariably such persons are found to miss the point of the reasons for which these Orders are rejected by the vast majority. Out of the large number which Mr. Butler claims, there are but one or two cases which he can support with satisfactory evidence. These fall into two classes: a few English Catholics, all but one converts, and a little group of French theologians at the beginning of the last century. The English Catholics are *Father Peter Walsh* in the seventeenth century, *Sir Harry Trelawney*, *Mr. Ambrose P. de Lisle*, and *Mr. H. N. Oxenham* in this (for *Mr. Edmund Ffoulkes* was always much more of an Anglican than a Catholic): possibly also one or two others, though of them there is no proof of any value.

If *Bossuet* was really one of the French group (and it looks as if he were), he is the one good man among them. He too, however, as far as we

have evidence of his reasons, missed the true point of the argument. He seems to have overlooked the important consideration indicated higher up in this tract, the necessity of an orthodox intention where the form has been rendered ambiguous. Nor did he know the further evidence brought to light in modern days which renders the likelihood of Barlow's consecration much less than it could have seemed then.

Apart from Bossuet, the French group was made up of a little party of Gallicans otherwise noted for their heterodox opinions: *Girardin, Du Pin, Le Courayer*, &c. Le Courayer wrote two books in favour of Anglican Orders, which are highly esteemed among Anglicans. But these books are full of unsound doctrine, for which they encountered episcopal and Papal condemnations. In conformity with the principle stated above, the condemnations do not fall on the advocacy of Anglican Orders, but on the false doctrine scattered throughout the books. This, however, reacts on the advocacy of the Orders. What value can be set on a defence of Anglican Orders which is based on a false statement of the Catholic doctrine?

These seem to be about all whom Mr. Butler is entitled to claim as witnesses: for, as has been said, the mass of those whom he cites, he cites without reason. In particular, he has no business to cite the *Comte de Maistre*, and some others, who refer to the *external* hierarchy of Anglicanism as a feature in its favour which may enable it to bridge over the wider gap between the Catholic Church and other sects, and so prepare the way for their return, as well as its own, to Catholic unity. Nor is Mr. Butler entitled

to claim the late *Archbishop Darboy* merely because the Episcopalian Bishop Cleveland Coxe has had the cruelty to misreport the dead man as having said that "he did not believe in anything but the Church of England;"¹ to have said which would have been to confess that he was living the life of a hypocrite and perjurer. Nor must he claim the *Inopportunist Bishops* of the Vatican Council, merely because some unknown (but doubtless Anglican) correspondent of Bishop Wordsworth's conceived the comical idea that they "would be very thankful for the moral support of the Anglican Episcopate."²

If *Bishop Milner* (+1826) could be truthfully cited by Anglicans as having believed in Anglican Orders, his authority would be valuable to them. But what has Mr. Butler done? He has quoted, as giving Milner's own view, a few words from the *Letter to a Prebendary*, in which the writer states what he conceives to be the view of the Anglican Articles. And he passes over in silence the passage in the *End of Controversy*,³ Milner's great work, in which the Bishop says expressly, and gives his reasons for saying, that "the [Anglican] Orders are, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful."

Bishop Baines (+1843) is also wrongfully cited, after Dr. F. G. Lee, as "well known by many who were personally acquainted with him to have held the opinion that Anglican Orders are valid." Since Dr. Lee wrote, Dom Raynal, in his *Letter to Dr. F. G. Lee*, has collected for us the testimony of three intimate friends of Bishop Baines, Mgr. Canon Bonomi, who was his Vicar General, Dr. Neve,

¹ P. 2.² P. 5.³ C. 29.

afterwards Provost of Clifton, and Canon Shattock of the same diocese. All three testify that the Bishop frequently spoke of these Orders, and always as spurious. And, according to Dom Raynal, the Bishop has left a written record that these were his true views, in a lecture given at Bath, in Lent, 1829. Perhaps Mr. Butler will say he never heard of Dom Raynal's pamphlet. It may be so: for we can see from his tract that he has heard of very little which his subject required him to hear of and consult. Nearly all his references are second-hand. But, in any case, he can now learn from Dom Raynal to place less trust in vague, hearsay, evidence.

Bishop Strossmayer, the famous Inopportunist Bishop of the Vatican Council, is credited with a speech attributed to him in *The Pope and the Gospel*. If the speech were genuine, it would follow not only that Bishop Strossmayer believed in Anglicanism, but also that he did not believe in Catholicism. He is credited with saying that

Precedence is one thing—the power of jurisdiction another. For example, supposing that in Florence there was an assembly of all the Bishops of the kingdom, the precedence would be given to the Primate of Florence, as among Easterns it would be accorded to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in England to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

It ought to be clear to any sensible person that a speech like this could never have been delivered at the Vatican Council, and Cardinal Manning tells us that “when the speech had gone the round of Europe in a polyglot version, Bishop Strossmayer denounced it as a forgery, and his letter has been printed again

and again in England. Nevertheless, the speech is reprinted continually to this day at Glasgow and Belfast, and sown broadcast by post over these kingdoms."¹

Such a letter of repudiation, written by Bishop Strossmayer to Miss O'Connor Morris, now Mrs. William Bishop, in whose possession it still is, was printed in the *Kent and Sussex Courier* for July 11, 1873, and we have the original before us as we write.

Mademoiselle,

I hasten to reply to your letter received yesterday. The discourse attributed to me is altogether apocryphal. This calumny has been several times reproduced in the German papers. I solemnly contradicted it, and contradict it now, giving you by this letter full power to contradict it everywhere in my name. Receive the assurance of my esteem, with which

I am your servant,

STROSSMAYER, Bishop.

Rohic, July 1, 1873.

Possibly Mr. Butler may say that he was quite unaware of the Bishop's repudiation of the speech. But, in that case, why did he venture to reprint it? In these days we expect of an honourable controversialist that he should not set down facts which raise important issues, without first taking the pains to ascertain if they are accurate. However, as so many of his quotations are like this, second-hand, it is possible he has been the victim of the fraud of others, and that his own offence is the less offence of reckless reliance on dubious second-hand authorities. In that case, he will be only too anxious to with-

¹ *The Story of the Vatican Council*, p. 165.

draw the charges against so many Catholic authorities, which in the face of the evidence we have set before him he cannot fail to see are untrue; and should he do this, we would wish to be among the first to acknowledge that the graver guilt lies at the door of the Anglican authorities on whom he has relied rather than at his.

We might stop here, but perhaps it will help to add a few words in order to define our relation as Catholics to this question of Anglican Orders.

The intervention of Catholic ecclesiastical authority, as distinguished from the intervention of Catholic theological and controversial writers, on the question of Anglican Orders, has hitherto been confined exclusively to the practical order. When a convert Anglican clergyman seeks admission into the ranks of our clergy, the question of his previous Orders is forced upon the attention of the authorities. In considering it they have not been actuated by any extraneous considerations, but purely and simply by their duty as guardians of the sacraments of the Church; a duty which requires them to take extreme care, both lest by reason of invalid Orders in the minister invalid sacraments should be offered to the faithful, and lest, by a ceremony of re-ordination where the previous Orders were valid, a sacrilegious injury should be done to the sacrament. Their decision under this profound sense of responsibility, a decision from which they have never seen reason to depart since it was first arrived at under Mary, has been to treat the previous Anglican Orders as invalid.

The judgment of the writers who have at various

times composed treatises on the subject, theological and controversial, has, and claims to have, only private authority. Still, it is in conformity with the afore-mentioned practice of the Church authorities, and puts forth, to say the least, weighty reasons in its defence. What, in view of it, should be the effect upon the Anglican clergy seems to us to be this. It should, if they believe in the sacramental system, cause them to refrain from using Orders received after the Anglican method : for it is clearly unlawful to use Orders the validity of which is at all doubtful. In the Catholic Church extreme sensitiveness on this point is invariably felt. Whenever, through any accidental departure from the prescribed ritual, a recipient finds himself faced with the possibility, even the bare possibility, that his Orders may not have been adequately given, nothing will induce him to use them until the defect has been remedied. When, among Anglicans, in spite of the suspiciousness of Barlow's episcopal character, of the ambiguity of the Edwardine Ordinal, and the known heretical views of Parker's consecration, not a trace of such sensitiveness is found, does not its absence point to a want of due realization of the importance of the sacramental system? And when this realization is so defective, is it surprising that we should find it hard to agree upon the historical question? The divergence between us is on first principles. Anglicans, even High Church Anglicans, have not yet grasped the Catholic doctrine of Holy Orders.

The Book of Common Prayer and the Mass.¹

BY THE "REV. R. C. LAING.

FATHER GASQUET has earned the gratitude of his Catholic readers by his book on *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*. It is a fitting sequel to his first work. In the first he told how a Catholic King, having thrown off his allegiance to the Holy See and established himself as the Supreme Head of the Church in England, satisfied his own rapacity and that of his favourites by the plunder of the monasteries. In the volume recently published, he and his *collaborateur*, Mr. Bishop, have gone a step further in the history of the Reformation, and described the process by which a new ritual was forced upon an unwilling people. Both works are of the deepest interest, but they are sad reading. Sad, indeed, it is to trace the history of the change—how the first crime of Henry VIII., in claiming the supremacy, gradually brought, in its train, the denial of one doctrine after another of Catholic faith, till the "Tudor Settlement of Religion" produced the Church as now by law established. Father Gasquet deals with the reign of Edward VI., during which the change of religion really took place; and it is the purpose of this paper to follow his footsteps over the same ground.

¹ Reprinted from the *Ushaw Magazine*.

With the one exception of Papal Supremacy, Henry was a stout defender of Catholic doctrine. He was intolerant of heresy, and met its advance by his "Statute of the Six Articles" (1539), which decreed the punishment of death against those who denied the doctrines of transubstantiation, communion under one kind, the utility of private masses, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. Ten years later the Act of Uniformity in religion was passed, and every one of these articles was upset.

But the change was a gradual one, both in doctrine and in liturgy, and it is with the latter only that Father Gasquet's book is concerned. Henry died on January 28th, 1547, and his successor was a boy not ten years old. The administration of the kingdom, both civil and ecclesiastical, fell into the hands of the Duke of Somerset, named Protector by Henry's will, and of the Council, in which not the least important member was Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. It was soon made evident that the Bishops were to be regarded merely as a department of the public service; for they were ordered to take out new commissions, in the new King's name, for the exercise of their jurisdiction and the government of their dioceses. The Council also made it manifest that further changes might be expected; first of all, by ordering the introduction of certain novelties, such as the reading in English of portions of Scripture both in the choral office and in the Mass; and, at length, by the injunction that no further alteration was to be made in the order of

Divine Service, "until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered by the King's authority." There could be no mistake as to the direction in which the changes were to be made. At the High Mass sung in St. Paul's at the opening of Parliament, in presence of the King and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Credo*, and the *Agnus Dei* were sung in English; so that the impression was conveyed that the Mass had that day been said in English, though in reality the prayers of the priest, including the Canon, had been recited, as usual, in Latin. The Parliament, thus inaugurated, was largely occupied with ecclesiastical affairs; and one of its chief acts, while it strove, as a concession to popular feeling, to repress profane speaking of the Blessed Sacrament, ordered that Communion should, in future, be administered in all parts of the King's dominions "under both kinds of bread and wine." Five Bishops voted against the Bill. Gladly would they have supported the first part of it; but they preferred to oppose the legal condemnation of the blasphemies, which were only too common, rather than sanction, by their vote, so flagrant a departure from Catholic discipline as the second part contained. Ten supported the measure, and eleven were absent.

The passing of this Bill marks an important step, for, though dealing only with a matter of discipline, it was the first serious alteration in the ancient ritual; and, moreover, it left Cranmer a free hand. No special rubric had been made for the new mode of Communion, and Cranmer was left to effect the change by tampering at will with the Missal. He was not slow to take advantage of his opportunity,

but he proceeded with caution and by degrees. There were three stages of change before the Canon of the Roman Missal completely disappeared, and the Book of Common Prayer with its "Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" took its place. These were :

1. The Communion Book.
2. The Prayer Book of 1549.
3. The Prayer Book of 1552.

Before speaking of these changes in detail, it is necessary to observe that, though in England at the death of Henry VIII. there were three rites for the Holy Sacrifice, or "uses" as they were called, those of Sarum, York, and Hereford, the Canon of the Mass was in all of them identical with the Roman except in a few points, the variants being of the most trifling character. Father Gasquet gives an interesting list of these,¹ from which it may be seen that they consist now of a slight change in the order of the words, now of the omission or addition of the conjunctions, *et*, *ac*, or *que*, or the substitution for them of the preposition *cum*, and in three cases of the addition of a word or two, viz., "pro Rege nostro N." at the beginning of the Canon, and the italicized words in the following : "*Et omnium circumstantium atque omnium fidelium Christianorum*" (York), and "*Memento etiam Domine animarum famulorum*" (Sarum). Such was the care taken to preserve the Canon in the original form sanctioned by a venerable antiquity, and going back, as there are good reasons for believing, even to Apostolic

¹ Pp. 198, 199.

times. It was upon this sacred rite that Cranmer dared to lay his sacrilegious hands.

1.—The Communion Book, or “The Order of the Communion.”

This was ordered by the King to be used on and after Easter Sunday, April 1st, 1548. No change was made in the Mass, except that the new form, in English, was to be introduced after the Communion of the priest. Still there are certain points in regard to it which are significant :

1. Communion was not to be administered at every Mass according to the devotion of the people, but only on certain days, of which notice was to be given by the “parson, vicar, or curate,” on the Sunday or other day before, in a form prescribed by the Book. Thus the faithful were not allowed to receive Communion on any day they pleased, and the practice of frequent Communion was discouraged.

2. The practice of private confession to a priest before Communion was, by implication, declared unnecessary. Those who used it were warned not “to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God and the general confession to the Church.”

3. Communion was to be administered in both kinds, contrary to the common practice of the Western Church from the earliest times, and to the universal practice from 1418, the date of the Council of Constance, approved later by the Council of Trent.

4. The forms to be used in the act of administering contained no material departure from ancient use,

and deserve notice only in view of the changes afterwards introduced. They ran thus: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life. The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life."

5. The most extraordinary innovation was contained in the following rubric: "If it doth so chance that the wine hallowed and consecrate doth not suffice, or be enough for them that do take the Communion, the priest, after the first cup or chalice be emptied, may go again to the altar, and reverently and devoutly prepare and consecrate another; and so the third, or more likewise, beginning at these words: *Simili modo postquam cœnatum est*; and ending at these words: *Qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*, and without any levation or lifting up." The priest has already celebrated and consecrated once, and he is to consecrate again in one kind only and without again communicating himself! Nothing can be a more plain denial of the Catholic doctrine as to the sacrificial character of the Mass than this consecration under one kind and without Communion.

The same rubric appears in the Book of Common Prayer to this day, except that it is extended to both species: "If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more," &c.

The spirit in which the whole plan of this new order was conceived may be seen from a letter written by Miles Coverdale to Calvin on March 26th, 1548. He sends him a Latin translation of the Book, feeling

sure that it would be to him a "cause for congratulation" as "the first-fruits of godliness (according as the Lord now wills His religion to revive in England)."¹ Calvin openly rejected both the doctrine and the ritual of the Catholic Church in regard to the Sacrifice of the Mass; and if he could find cause for congratulation, it could only have been because this new order was the beginning of a departure from the ancient doctrine and ritual, and an approximation to his own heretical position.

2.—The First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The Council had anticipated opposition to the new order of Communion; and we learn from Foxe that many priests, "carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted Popery." The uniformity which was desired was as far from attainment as ever; and the Government determined, as they subsequently declared, to secure it by the imposition "of a uniform, quiet, and godly order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the Sacraments;"² in other words, by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

There is much obscurity about some of the preliminary steps in drawing up this Book. This much seems to be proved by documentary evidence, that Cranmer and "certain of the most learned and discreet Bishops and other learned men of this realm" were commissioned by the King, with the advice of Somerset and the rest of the Council, to construct a new form of service, having "as well an eye

¹ Gasquet, pp. 93, 94.

² Act of Uniformity, 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1.

and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by Scripture as to the usages of the Primitive Church ;”¹ that the Commissioners formally inaugurated their work on September 22nd or 23rd, 1548, at Windsor, though some meetings were probably held at Chertsey ; and that, though various lists of names have been given as those of the Commissioners, all that is known for certain is that Cranmer was one of them.

Another question has arisen as to whether the Book was ever submitted to Convocation and received the assent of the clergy there assembled. The more probable conclusion seems to be, in the words of Canon Dixon, that “the Convocation of the clergy had nothing to do with the first Act of Uniformity of religion. Laymen made the first English Book of Common Prayer into a schedule of a penal statute. As little in the work itself, which was then imposed on the realm, had the clergy originally any share.”² Before, however, being submitted to Parliament, it was laid before an informal meeting of the Bishops, not so much for their advice or assent as to ensure its speedy passage through the House of Lords.

Parliament met for its second session on November 27th. Father Gasquet has discovered among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum a small tract, dated from Westminster on December 1st, evidently of this year 1548. It has a significant connection with the debate which took place a fortnight later. It is dedicated to the Protector Somerset, and is entitled : “Of the Sacrament of Thanksgiving :

¹ Act of Uniformity, 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1.

² *History*, &c. iii. p. 5.

a short treatise of Peter Martyr's making."¹ The arguments and conclusions of this tract are precisely those which Cranmer and his supporters upheld in the debate, and it is difficult to resist the belief that it was translated and summarized for the convenience of the Protector, probably by his chaplain, who had busied himself with writing against the Mass.

On December 14th the new Prayer Book was read in the House of Lords, and on the following day the Protector commanded the Bishops "to the intent to fall to some point to agree what things should first be treated of. And because it seemed most necessary to the purpose, willed them to dispute whether bread be in the Sacrament after the consecration or not."² Then was begun a debate, which lasted for four days, between those who maintained the old Catholic doctrine and those who favoured the new opinions of the Reformers. There was a crowded assembly of peers, and the members of the Lower House flocked in to hear the discussion. It was carried on by the Bishops alone, no layman intervening except the Protector Somerset, Smythe the Secretary of State, and Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland—all of whom spoke on the side of the Reformers. Another manuscript in the Royal Collection which Father Gasquet is the first to bring into notice, and which is, perhaps, the earliest extant specimen of Parliamentary reporting, gives a detailed account of

¹ Peter Martyr Vermigli, an apostate Augustinian monk of Florence, who adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, was invited to England by Cranmer in 1547, and appointed Lecturer on the Holy Scriptures at Oxford.

² Gasquet, Appendix V. p. 327.

the whole debate. The discovery of this document is most valuable, as the opinions there enumerated enable us to appreciate rightly the meaning of the changes that were made in the Canon of the Mass.

The principal disputants on the Catholic side were Cuthbert Tunstall, the intrepid Bishop of Durham, Heath of Worcester, Bonner of London, and Day of Chichester ; while Cranmer's chief supporters were Ridley of Rochester, Holbeach of Lincoln, and the three laymen mentioned above. A hundred years later, during the time of the Commonwealth, theological debates were not so great a novelty in the English Parliament ; but it is a strange spectacle to us, and denotes the extent to which heretical views had spread in less than two years after the death of Henry VIII., when we find so many men, holding the position of Bishops in a country still Catholic at heart, engaged in debate upon the most sacred mystery of the Catholic faith, as if it were a question of policy or of ordinary civil administration, and either maintaining the doctrines of the Reformers or exhibiting a mental confusion as to the teaching of the Church.

Let one or two specimens from Cranmer's argument suffice to show its general tendency : " I believe that Christ is eaten with heart. The eating with our mouth cannot give us life. For then should a sinner have life. Only good men can eat Christ's body. When the evil eateth the Sacrament, bread and wine, he neither hath Christ's Body nor eateth it. This Body is not in the evil man, for it is on the right hand. *No man ascended into Heaven, &c.* The good man hath the word within him, and the godhead

by reason of an indissoluble annexion is in the manhood. Eating with his mouth giveth nothing to man, nor the Body being in the bread. Christ gave to His disciples bread and wine, creatures among us, and called it His Body, saying: *Hoc est corpus meum.*"

A favourite argument with Cranmer, derived from Peter Martyr's tract, to prove that the Body of our Lord is not present in the Blessed Sacrament, is that, if it were, then the wicked would receive it, and with it, life. He seems to have forgotten the words of St. Paul, who condemns the unworthy recipient for the very reason that he has not discerned that our Lord's Body is present: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment (damnation, *Authorized Version*) to himself, not discerning the Body of the Lord."¹ In what would lie the sin, so strongly denounced, if it were not the Body of the Lord?

Again, at the close of the debate, Cranmer says: "Such bread calleth Christ His Body as is common among us, made with flour and water, and wine likewise. Such bread as feeds the body, that cannot hear nor see, but round, broad, thick, and white. It is material bread that hath these qualities; His Body was not so. As the baker maketh it, so doth the altar describe (*sic*) it. These say, Christ called such bread His Body. If you understand *Hoc*, this bread, then bread was His Body. And if this word doth not signify bread, Christ said not that bread was His Body."²

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 29.

² Gasquet, Appendix V. p. 441.

The debate was brought to an end on Wednesday, December 19th, and on the same day the Prayer Book was read to the House of Commons. After an adjournment till January 2nd, 1549, the "Bill for religion," commanding the use of the new Service, was discussed and passed its final stage on January 15th. Of the Bishops present at the division in the Upper House, ten voted for the measure, and eight against it. Of four who were not present, but represented by proxies, two supported the Bill, one opposed it, and one was neutral. Gardiner, a resolute opponent, was in the Tower and unable to record his vote. The remaining four were absent and unrepresented, but one is known to have been favourable to the Bill. The result is that thirteen Bishops supported the Government Bill, ten were opposed to it, and the views of the remaining four were doubtful.

It is necessary now to consider the changes which were introduced by the new order for "the Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," as the title runs in the Prayer Book. The inquiry here must be limited to the part which corresponds to the Canon of the Mass, for it must be observed that, with certain significant changes, this book preserved in a great degree the order and semblance of the Mass. One change, however, before the Canon must not be unnoticed, as it is specially characteristic of the spirit which seems to have guided the compilers. After the recitation of the Nicene Creed, and the reading of the exhortations to intending communicants which are inserted from the Communion Book of 1548, and after some sentences from Holy Scripture, said or

sung, as in the Roman Missal, for the Offertory, the minister is directed to lay on the altar sufficient bread and wine for the Communion, but no prayers are prescribed, no ceremonial oblation is made, everything in the Missal from the Offertory sentence to the Preface is omitted. The prayers thus left out are those which specially express the idea of oblation and sacrifice: *e.g.* (1) the single prayer of the Sarum Missal at the offering of the paten and chalice: "Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation which I, unworthy sinner, offer in honour of Thee and of Blessed Mary and of all Thy saints, for my sins and offences, and for the salvation of the living and rest of all the faithful departed;" (2) after the *Lavabo*: "And so be our sacrifice in Thy sight that it may be accepted of Thee to-day and please Thee, O Lord God;" (3) the *Orate fratres* with the response: "Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours likewise may be accepted of the Lord our God. May the Lord receive the sacrifice from thy hands," &c. (4) The Secrets, which always imply the offering of a sacrifice and a prayer that it may be accepted.

That it is the key-note of the whole series of changes, to eliminate whatever expresses or implies the idea of sacrifice, may be seen from a comparison of the new rite with the Canon of the Mass, which, as has been observed before, is one and the same in form in all the different uses which prevailed in England. To make this comparison complete, it would be necessary to print in parallel columns, as Father Gasquet does, the whole of the Canon and the corresponding part of the Book of Common Prayer; but it may suffice to indicate the nature of

the alterations by arranging the prayers of the Canon in small groups, and noticing in a general way the changes that were introduced.

I. From the beginning of the Canon to the Consecration :

Here we have in the Missal five prayers, the *Te igitur*, the *Memento* of the living, the *Communicantes*, the *Hanc igitur*, and the *Quam oblationem*. In the new Book the first is expanded into a long prayer for the whole state of the Church, for the King, the Council, all bishops, pastors, and curates, and the people under their charge. The words of the Missal, "We humbly pray and beseech Thee to receive these gifts, these offerings, these holy, undefiled sacrifices," are changed into "We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers." The mention of persons by name in the *Memento* is omitted; but there is a prayer for the congregation, the words of the Missal, "for whom we offer unto Thee, or who are offering unto Thee, the sacrifice of praise," being changed into, "which is here assembled in Thy Name to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious Death of Thy Son." The *Communicantes* no longer expresses the communion of saints, with a petition that we may be helped by their merits and prayers, but gives "most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all Thy saints, from the beginning of the world," and prays that we may follow their example. After this, in the new Service, comes the commemoration of the dead, placed by the revisers of the liturgy *before* the consecration, "perhaps," says Canon Estcourt, "for fear that

it should give any countenance to the Romish error, that Christ was offered for the quick and dead.”¹ The *Hanc igitur* is omitted, except the last sentence which forms part of the prayer for the dead. The changes in the *Quam oblationem* are particularly worthy of attention. In the Missal this prayer runs thus: “Which oblation do Thou, we beseech Thee, O God Almighty, vouchsafe to render altogether blessed, counted, reckoned, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may be made unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.”

The additions made in the new liturgy are significant: “O God, Heavenly Father, which of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption, Who made there (by His one oblation, once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to celebrate, a perpetual memorial of this His precious Death, until His coming again: Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly-beloved Son, Jesus Christ.” The emphatic assertion of the “one oblation, once offered,” seems intended to exclude the sacrificial character of the Mass, though, of course, the words are perfectly true in a Catholic sense; and the meaning of the words, “may be unto us,” which in spite of opposition were substituted for “may be made unto us,” is thus explained

¹ *Anglican Ordinations*, p. 305.

by Cranmer himself: "In the Book of the Holy Communion we do not pray that the creatures of bread and wine may *be* the Body and Blood of Christ, but that they may *be to us* the Body and Blood of Christ; that is to say, that we may so eat them and drink that we may be partakers of His Body crucified and of His Blood shed for our redemption."¹

2. The Consecration :

The form of the words of institution is different from that in the Missal, and the assertion has been made that it was derived from the ancient Mozarabic liturgy used in Spain. A careful comparison, however, will show that it presents more points of similarity with the Lutheran liturgy of Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533) than with the Mozarabic.²

A rubric here directs that there shall be no "elevation or showing the Sacrament to the people."

3. From the Consecration to the *Pater noster* :

For the three prayers after the Elevation, and the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, is substituted one long prayer, in which, doubtless, there are recollections of the old forms; but all allusions to sacrifice, so frequent at this point in the Missal, are studiously eliminated. For example, for the words, "We offer . . . a pure victim, a holy victim, and undefiled victim, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of eternal salvation," we have, "Desiring Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving."³ Again, for "Command these" (*hæc* refers

¹ Gasquet, p. 205.

² *Ibid.* Appendix VI. p. 444.

³ Cranmer explains a "sacrifice of laud, prayer, and thanksgiving," as one by which "we offer ourselves and all that we have" to God. (Gasquet, p. 209, note.)

to the same antecedent as *supra quæ* at the beginning of the previous prayer, *i.e.*, *hostiam puram, &c., panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ*) "to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thine altar on high, before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty," is substituted, "Command these our *prayers and supplications*, by the ministry of Thy holy angels, to be brought into Thy holy tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty."

4. From the *Pater noster* to the *Agnus Dei* :

The new liturgy, while retaining the *Pater noster*, omits entirely the prayer after it, which is simply an expansion of the last petition, and along with it the "fraction" of the Host, and the "commixture," or putting a particle of the Host into the chalice. It goes on at once to the *Pax Domini*, and to the *Agnus Dei*, which, however, is used, not as a prayer addressed to the Blessed Sacrament on the altar, but historically : "Christ, our Paschal Lamb, is offered up for us once for all when He bare our sins on His Body upon the Cross, for He is the very Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world : wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord."

The *Agnus Dei* was, however, ordered to be sung by the clerks "in the Communion-time."

After this there was a complete departure from the Missal, to make way, with some slight changes, for the order of Communion of 1548 described above. Then was sung a verse of Holy Scripture, "called the Postcommunion," followed by a prayer and the blessing.

Such was the Communion Service in Cranmer's first Prayer Book. The Council anticipated oppo-

sition to it, and it is interesting to see how it was received, first, by the general body of the people, and secondly, by the Swiss Reformers, the followers of Calvin, who had watched its progress with great anxiety.

To the people, who had all their lives been accustomed to the Mass, the words of which, even in Latin, had by long use become familiar and intelligible to them, the new liturgy came with all the force of a shock. The old ceremonies, the old vestments—for by the new rubric a cope might be substituted for the chasuble—disappeared from their bewildered eyes. The most solemn part of the Mass, when all had been wont to bow down in adoration of their Incarnate God just descended on the altar, was divested of its solemnity; there was no longer either elevation or adoration. The Blessed Sacrament was even removed from the tabernacle. For a time there was diversity of practice, and force was used to drive men to the uniformity prescribed by the Act. Bonner, Bishop of London, who resolutely refused to use the new form, and after several examinations before the Council was committed to prison in the Marshalsea, addressed to the Archbishop these noble words: “Three things I have, to wit, a small portion of goods, a poor carcass, and mine own soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you; but as for my soul, ye get it not *quia anima mea in manibus meis semper.*”

From many parts of the country, from Wilts, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Berks, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicestershire, Worcester, and Rutland, came news of insur-

rections, which, however being without concert and without leaders, speedily came to an end. More dangerous were the risings in Oxford, Norfolk, Cornwall, and Devon. In the last-named county, the very day after the new liturgy had been read for the first time, the parishioners compelled the clergyman to return to the ancient Service. Before the men of Devon were reduced to order, four thousand are said to have perished in the field, or by the hand of the executioner.¹ "Terror was struck into the minds of the people by the sight of the executions, fixed for the market-days, of priests dangling from the steeples of their parish churches, and of the heads of laymen set up in the high places of the towns."² It can hardly be said that the English people eagerly welcomed the new Service, and appreciated the benefit of worshipping God in their own tongue.

By the Helvetian Reformers the book was received with feelings of dissatisfaction and disappointment. Their hopes that Cranmer favoured their views had been raised to the highest point by the debate on the Sacrament in Parliament. They had tried every means to work upon his mind, by letters and by the personal influence of their envoy, John a Lasco, who resided with Cranmer for some months; but when the book appeared, it was Lutheran rather than Calvinistic. Luther's ritual retained the general outline of the Mass, and in this the English order resembled it. In one point there is a difference. Luther hated the Canon of the Mass, and employed the whole power of his virulent pen to abuse it.

¹ Lingard, *History*, v. p. 291.

² Gasquet, p. 254.

Consequently, in his Service, he swept it away entirely, retaining only the words of institution, without substituting, as Cranmer did, a single prayer in its place. From the service-books of the Swiss Reformers every trace of resemblance to the Mass was removed. Thus the new book was extremely distasteful to them. Either Cranmer had not advanced in his theological opinions as far as he did later, or his caution made him afraid of moving too fast in the direction which he afterwards took. That the latter alternative is more probably the true one appears from his subsequent controversy with Gardiner.

3.—The Second Prayer Book of 1552.

After the introduction of the new liturgy the spirit of change governed the day. The Mass had been abolished, and now the altars in the churches were destroyed, the lights were extinguished, the sacred images and pictures were removed, the walls white-washed and decorated only with the royal arms and texts from Scripture. Even before the introduction of the Prayer Book on Whit Sunday, 1549, indications had been given that it was but a temporary measure, and that Cranmer had only been ascertaining how far it was safe to go. In December, 1550, Cranmer had been attacked by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who, contrasting the Prayer Book with Cranmer's work on the Sacrament, published in the previous year, endeavoured to show that the one was not consistent with the other; that while the words of the Prayer Book might be taken in a Catholic sense on many points in regard to the

Blessed Sacrament, that sense did not agree with what Cranmer had previously maintained. Cranmer, in reply, vigorously defended his consistency by proving that the Prayer Book was in entire agreement with his work ; and in doing this he made it clear that even if, by straining the meaning of the words of the new Service, a Catholic sense could be extracted from them, such was not the sense intended by him. However, it is a significant fact that everything in the Prayer Book so adduced by Gardiner, in this attack upon Cranmer, was changed in the second book.

It had been evident in 1550 that a new Book of Common Prayer was under consideration. There is nothing to show who the revisers were, but in this case, as in the first, Cranmer was certainly the guiding spirit. A very cursory examination of the result of their labours will suffice to show that the general outward resemblance in external form and arrangement to the Mass, which had been maintained in the First Book, was now completely obliterated.

The Communion Service in the Second Book was much shorter than the other. It began with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, the Introit being omitted, and the *Kyrie* made part of the people's response to each of the Commandments.

The *Gloria in excelsis* was transferred to the end of the service.

Then followed the Collect, Epistle, Gospel, and Creed, and in this sequence is found the only point of similarity with the Mass.

Next, the Offertory sentences changed place with the exhortations to the communicants, the prayer for the state of the Church Militant, which formed the first part of Cranmer's substitute for the Canon, coming between them. The prayer for the dead was entirely omitted.

The general confession and absolution, which had been left in its old place before the Communion, now followed the exhortations, and was succeeded by the Preface and the *Sanctus*, in which, no doubt for doctrinal reasons, "Blessed is He Who cometh in the name of the Lord" was changed into "Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High."

The next change is significant. The "prayer of humble access," which had been said kneeling just before the Communion, and which Gardiner had pointed out to Cranmer as an act of adoration, was now placed just *before the prayer of consecration*, so as to exclude all suspicion that any adoration was intended.

All that was left of the Canon of 1549 was the prayer of consecration, which now consisted of an altered version of the first half of the old prayer, followed by the words of institution. The rest of the Canon was swept away, and the prayer of consecration was succeeded immediately by the Communion. The first book had left the form of administration practically the same as that in the Missal. In the new book the rubric for the first time ordered the minister to deliver the bread "to the people, *in their hands*," and the forms run thus: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."¹

The Communion was followed by the Lord's Prayer, by another which is worthy of remark as containing the only words which were directly translated from the ancient Canon (*non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor*), and by the *Gloria in excelsis*; and, lastly, the people were dismissed with the blessing.

It is to be noted that there is no direction given as to the time of placing the bread and wine on the table, and that the word "altar," which is frequently used in the First Book, nowhere occurs in the new service, the words "table," or "God's board," being substituted for it. The position also of the table was changed from the east end to the body of the church, so that lengthwise it stood east and west, and the minister was directed to take his place on the north side.

Another rubric, commonly called the "Black Rubric," which does not appear in the earliest copies of the book, but which was issued as a royal proclamation and annexed to the subsequent copies, runs as follows: "Whereas it is ordained in this office for the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the communicants should receive the same kneeling (which order is well meant for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the Holy Communion as might otherwise ensue);

¹ The forms used at the present time combine the forms of 1549 with those of 1552.

yet, lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved, it is hereby declared that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine, there bodily received, or unto any real and essential Presence of Christ's natural Flesh or Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."¹

Such was the Communion Service in the second book of Edward VI., as sanctioned by Parliament on April 14th, 1552. After its suspension in Mary's reign it was revived by Elizabeth with a few changes in 1559, and in almost the same form it remains to the present day.

Are words necessary to point the obvious moral of the above narrative? Between an ancient worship of which sacrifice was the central act, and a substituted worship which has weeded its Service Book of every sacrificial expression, what continuity can there be, save perhaps that of a worship which once had life with its lifeless corpse?

¹ The Black Rubric did not appear in the Liturgy of Queen Elizabeth, but was restored in the Revision of 1661; with, however, a change of the words "real and essential" into "corporeal." So it remains till the present day.

Religious Instruction in England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

BY DOM FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, O.S.B.

THE history of the pre-Reformation Church in England has yet to be written. To many this may perhaps seem a somewhat bold statement in view of all that has hitherto appeared in print bearing on the ecclesiastical history of this country. Let me explain my precise meaning. For the most part, until quite recent times, the story of this England of ours has been made to consist mainly of a series of biographies of its rulers, intermingled with more or less detailed accounts of the wars and battles by which they mounted to power or rendered their names illustrious. Of the nation itself, as apart from the monarch who honoured it by ruling over it, the historian in the past troubled his readers as little as possible; and thus, whilst he might learn to know the dates of many battles and the genealogies of many royal houses, the inquirer remained practically ignorant of the English people. In a similar spirit Church annalists have not thought it their duty to record much beyond the doings of illustrious English Churchmen and the most conspicuous results which have flowed from their actions and their ecclesiastical policy generally.

Now, however, we are anxious to learn something more about the people who composed the nation, of the conditions under which they lived and acted, of their desires and aspirations, and of their struggles against difficulties external and internal. And in the same way the thoughts of all inquirers are turning more and more to a consideration of the religious side of our national life, an inquiry which promises to enlighten us at last as to the real history of the religion of the English people in the later middle ages and the century of the Reformation. What, for example, did our forefathers definitely believe? How were they affected by the religious system under which they lived? How were the services carried on in the churches, and what were the popular devotions of the time? Were the religious offices well frequented, and what was the general character of the behaviour of the people whilst present at them? How did the priests instruct their flocks, and what profit did they seemingly derive from their ministrations? What did the Church do for the great cause of education, and for the social and material welfare of the people at large? These and a hundred kindred questions are daily being proposed, but who is there in England to-day capable of giving any satisfactory reply to them? In order to form any judgment on these matters we should require to have the evidence still buried in our national archives beneath the dust of many centuries placed fairly and dispassionately before us. For myself, I may perhaps be permitted to say that a familiarity of some years with original and much-neglected sources has taught me as a first lesson and

condition of knowledge, that I know little—or what, when compared to all that yet remains to be done, practically is very little—about the social condition, the influence and inner life of the Church of England previous to the sixteenth century. In spite of this, however, I venture here to propose for consideration an important question regarding the Church in this country during, say, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is a very simple point, but one, I venture to think, which has not hitherto been sufficiently considered, and one the answer to which must seriously affect our judgment as to the character of the ecclesiastical system swept away by the so-called Reformation.

The first duty of the Church, after the ministration of the sacraments, is obviously to teach and direct its members in all matters of faith and practice, and to watch over the eternal interests of the Christian people. Was the pre-Reformation Church in England mindful of this obligation, or did it neglect so plain and essential a duty imposed upon all its ministers by its Divine Founder? This, then, is the plain question—Was there in Catholic days in England any systematic religious instruction? and if so, what was done in this important matter?

At the outset it must be admitted that the general opinion of Protestant writers has been, perhaps naturally, that in Catholic England the people were allowed to grow up in profound ignorance on all religious matters, and that there was no systematic instruction on points of belief and observance given by the clergy. I cannot, moreover, shut my eyes to the fact that in this verdict many Catholic writers have concurred. Conversation likewise with Catholics,

as well ecclesiastics as laymen, has led me to conclude that at the present day the general opinion is, that this sad and very black view of the way in which the Catholic Church of this country neglected its obvious duty of instructing the people in religion cannot be gainsaid.

It should, however, in all fairness be borne in mind, at the very outset, that up to the present time, so far as I am aware, no evidence whatever has been forthcoming, except the somewhat fervid declamations of those engaged in the destruction of the ancient faith, in support of this verdict; and one cannot but remember that barely ten years ago the English public generally implicitly believed in the traditional picture, drawn by non-Catholics in past centuries, of the appalling immoralities of monks and nuns, and the wholesale corruption of the clergy of England at the time of the suppression of the religious houses. We have lived to see a marvellous change follow upon the production of evidence. The unjust judgment after holding for many generations has now practically been reversed, and the unworthy stories originally "founded on ignorance and believed in only through the prejudice of subsequent generations have now," as the highest Protestant authority on the history of this period has declared, "gone for ever." This may well encourage a hope that an examination of evidence may lead to a similar rectification of what I firmly believe to be an equally false judgment passed upon the secular clergy of England in Catholic days, in regard to their neglect of the duty of instructing the people committed to their care.

I cannot help thinking that Chaucer's typical priest was not a mere creation of his imagination, but

that the picture must have had its counterpart in numberless parishes in England in the fourteenth century. This is how the poet's priest is described :

A good man was ther of religioun,
And was a poure parson of a town ;
But riche he was of holy thought and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Christe's Gospel trewely wolde preche,
His parischens devoutly wolde he teche.

* * * * *
But Christe's love and His Apostles twelve
He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve.

You will remember too that the story Chaucer makes his priest contribute to the *Canterbury Tales* is nothing but an excellent and complete tract, almost certainly a translation of a Latin theological treatise, upon the Sacrament of Penance.

As a sample, however, of what is popularly believed on this subject at the present day, I will take the opinion of by no means an extreme party writer, Bishop Hobhouse. "Preaching," he says, "was not a regular part of the Sunday observances as now. It was rare, but we must not conclude from the silence of our MSS. (*i.e.*, churchwardens' accounts) that it was never practised." In another place he states upon what he thinks sufficient evidence, "that there was a total absence of any system of clerical training, and that the cultivation of the conscience as the directing power of man's soul and the implanting of holy affections in the heart, seem to have been no part of the Church's system of guidance."

Further, in proof that this view as to the teaching of the English Church in the later middle ages is held by even Catholics, I need only quote the words of a well-known writer, to be found in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1891 :

At the end of the fifteenth century [writes Mr. W. S. Lilly] the Church in England, as in the greatest part of Europe, was in a lamentable condition. There is a mass of evidence that multitudes of Christians lived in almost total ignorance of the doctrines, and in almost complete neglect of the duties of their faith. The *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* formed the sum of the knowledge of their religion possessed by many, and not a few passed through the world without receiving any sacrament save that of Baptism.

It is, of course, impossible for us to pass any opinion on the "mass of evidence" to which Mr. Lilly appeals in proof of the soundness of his sweeping condemnation of the Church, not in England merely, but "in the greater part of Europe," since he has only given us the result without furnishing us with the grounds of his judgment. For my own part I think that such general judgments must be untrustworthy, and that it is necessary—so different were the circumstances of each—to take each country into consideration by itself. For Germany, the labours of the late Professor Janssen, even after the largest deductions have been made for a possible enthusiasm, or idealizing, have conclusively proved the existence of abundant religious teaching during the century which preceded the coming of Luther. As to England, about which we are at present concerned, we can only suppose that Mr. Lilly has been engaged in researches of which, as yet, the world knows nothing. For many years having been occupied in collecting information upon this very point, I may at once say, that so far from my studies tending to confirm Mr. Lilly's verdict as to the "almost total ignorance of the doctrines," and almost "complete neglect of the duties of the faith" in

which Catholics were allowed to live and die, they have led me to the opposite conclusion—namely, that in pre-Reformation days the people were well instructed in their faith by priests, who faithfully discharged their plain duty in this regard.

Let me state the grounds of this opinion. For practical purposes we may divide the religious teaching given by the clergy in the two classes of *sermons* and *instructions*. The distinction is obvious; by the first are meant those set discourses to prove some definite theme, or expound some definite passage of Holy Scripture, or deduce the lessons to be learnt from the life of some saint. In other words, putting aside the controversial aspect, which, of course, was rare in those days, a sermon in mediæval times was much what a sermon is to-day. There was this difference, however, that in pre-Reformation days the sermon was not so frequent as in these modern times. Now, whatever instruction is given to the people at large is conveyed to them almost entirely in the form of set sermons, which, however admirable in themselves, seldom convey to their hearers consecutive and systematic, dogmatic and moral teaching. Mediæval methods of imparting religious knowledge were different. For the most part the priest fulfilled the duty of instructing his flock by plain, unadorned, and familiar instructions upon matters of faith and practice. These must have much more resembled our present catechetical instructions than our modern pulpit discourses. To the subject of set sermons I shall have occasion to return presently, but as vastly more important, at any rate in the opinion of our Catholic forefathers, let us first consider the question of familiar instruc-

tions. For the sake of clearness we will confine our attention to the two centuries (the fourteenth and fifteenth) previous to the great religious revolution under Henry VIII.

Before the close of the thirteenth century—namely, in A.D. 1281, Archbishop Peccham issued the celebrated Constitutions of the Synod of Oxford which are called by his name. There we find the instruction of the people legislated for minutely :

We order [runs the Constitution] that every priest having the charge of a flock do, four times in each year (that is, once each quarter), on one or more solemn feast-days, either himself or by some one else, instruct the people in the vulgar language simply and without any phantastical admixture of subtle distinctions, in the articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins with their offshoots, the seven principal virtues, and the Seven Sacraments.

The Synod then proceeded to set out in considerable detail each of the points upon which the people must be instructed. Now it is obvious that if four times a year this law was complied with in the spirit in which it was given, the people were very thoroughly instructed indeed in their faith. But, was this law faithfully carried out by the clergy, and rigorously enforced by the Bishops in the succeeding centuries? That is the real question. I think that there is ample evidence that it was. In the first place, the Constitutions of Peccham are referred to constantly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the foundation of the existing practices in the English Church. Thus, to take a few specific instances in the middle of the fourteenth century, the decrees of a diocesan Synod order :

That all rectors, vicars, or chaplains holding ecclesiastical offices shall expound clearly and plainly to their people, on all Sundays and feast-days, the Word of God and the Catholic faith of the Apostles; and that they shall diligently instruct their subjects in the articles of faith, and teach them in their native language the Apostles' Creed, and urge them to expound and teach the same faith to their children.¹

Again, in A.D. 1357, Archbishop Thoresby, of York, anxious for the better instruction of his people, commissioned a monk of St. Mary's, York, named Gotryke, to draw out in English an exposition of the Creed, the Commandments, the seven deadly sins, &c. This tract the Archbishop, as he says in his Preface, "through the counsel of his clergy, sent to all his priests:"

So that each and every one, who under him had the charge of souls, do openly, in English, upon Sundays teach and preach them, that they have cure of the law and the

¹ Wilkins, iii. 11. Two curious instances of the care taken by the Bishops to see that priests were able to instruct their people may be quoted. After the great plague of 1349, as is notorious, many were admitted to Holy Orders in order to fill the decimated ranks of the clergy without sufficient learning and preparation. On June 24, 1385, the illustrious William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, caused Sir Roger Dene, rector of the Church of St. Michael, in Jewry Street, Winchester, to swear upon the Holy Gospels that he would learn within twelve months the articles of faith; the cases reserved to the Bishop; the Ten Commandments; the seven works of mercy; the seven mortal sins; the Sacraments of the Church, and the form of administering and conferring them; and also the form of baptizing, &c., as contained in the Constitutions of Archbishop Pecchan. The same year—on July 2—the Bishop exacted from John Corbet, who had been instituted on June 2 previously to the rectory of Bradley, in Hants, a similar obligation to learn the same before the feast of St. Michael then next ensuing. In the former case, Roger Dene had been Rector of Ryston, in Norfolk, and had only been instituted to his living at Winchester by the Bishop of Norwich, three days before William of Wykeham required him to enter into the above obligation.

way to know God Almighty. And he commands and bids, in all that he may, that all who have keeping or cure under him, enjoin their parishioners and their subjects, that they hear and learn all these things, and oft, either rehearse them till they know them, and so teach them to their children, if they any have, when they are old enough to learn them; and that parsons and vicars and all parish priests inquire diligently of their subjects at Lent time, when they come to shrift, whether they know these things, and if it be found that they know them not, that they enjoin them upon his behalf, and on pain of penance, to know them. And so there be none to excuse themselves through ignorance of them, our father the Archbishop of his goodness has ordained and bidden that they be showed openly in English amongst the flock.

To take another example, the Acts of the Synod held by Simon Langham at Ely in A.D. 1364, order that every parish priest frequently preach and expound the Ten Commandments, &c., in English (*in idiomate communi*), and all priests are urged to devote themselves to the study of the Sacred Scripture, so as to be ready "to give an account of the hope and faith" that is in them. Further, they are to see that the children are taught their prayers; and even adults, when coming to confession, are to be examined as to their religious knowledge.¹

Even when the rise of the Lollard heretics rendered it important that some check should be given to general and unauthorized preaching, this did not interfere with the ordinary work of instruction. The orders of Archbishop Arundel in A.D. 1408, forbidding all preaching without an episcopal license, set forth, in distinct terms, that this prohibition did not apply "to the parish priests," &c.,

¹ Wilkins, iii. 59.

who by the Constitutions of Archbishop Peccham, were bound to instruct their people, in simple language, on all matters concerning their faith and observance. And further, in order to check the practice of treating people to such formal and set discourses, these simple and practical instructions were ordered to be adopted without delay in all parish churches.

To this testimony of the English Church as to the value attached to popular instruction, I may add the authority of the Provincial Council of York held in A.D. 1466 by Archbishop Nevill. By its decrees, not only is the order as to systematic quarterly and simple instructions reiterated, but the points of the teaching are again set out, in great detail, by the Synod.

There is, moreover, I believe, ample evidence to convince any one who may desire to study the subject, that this duty of giving plain instructions to the people was not neglected up to the era of the Reformation itself. During the fifteenth century, manuals to assist the clergy in the performance of this obligation were multiplied in considerable numbers; which would not have been the case had the practice of frequently giving these familiar expositions fallen into abeyance. Of some of these manuals I shall speak presently, and here I would note specially that one of the earliest books ever issued from an English press by Caxton, probably at the same time (A.D. 1483) as the *Liber Festivalis* (or book of sermons for Sundays and feast-days), was a set of four lengthy discourses published, as they expressly declare, to enable priests to fulfil the obligation imposed on them by the Constitutions of

Peccham.¹ As these were intended to take at least four Sundays, and as the whole set of instructions had to be given four times each year, it follows that at least sixteen Sundays, or a quarter of the year, were devoted to this simple and straightforward teaching, to every soul in the parish, what every Christian was bound to believe and to do.²

Looking at the character of these instructions, we need not be surprised that priests should not often have thought it necessary to commit them to writing. They were given as a matter of course, as a necessary part of the round of their priestly duty, and there is naturally very little record of what must have been part of the routine of common clerical life. Let me take what is a parallel instance. Do we expect that some centuries hence there will be any evidence forthcoming to show that the clergy of the great city of London, in this year 1893, have

¹ Probably there were many similar works issued by the first English printers. In Lansd. MS. 376, there is a *black letter* tract, printed by W. de Worde, to enable priests to comply with the command of the Synod.

² The work upon which Caxton's *Liber Festivalis* was founded is a volume written in the early part of the fourteenth century by John Myrc. Of this see later. Here we may note that in several copies of the MSS. *Festivale* there may be found other matters useful for the priest in the work of instructing others. For example, "De magna sententia pronuncianda, hoc modo;" the days on which no servile work might be done, according to Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions*, notes on various Papal Constitutions, &c. In one MS. (Harl. MS. 2403), following upon the *Festivale*, is a short explanation of the Creed, *Pater noster*, &c. This latter instruction is introduced by the form, "Good men and women, ye shall know well yt each curate is bownden by the law of Holy Church to expound the *Pater noster* to his parishonys twyes in the yere." The substance of these instructions is used in many copies of the sermons of the period. In the copy (MS. Reg. 18 B. xxv.), the people are addressed as "Worschipful frendys," or "Worschipful and reverent frendys." The discourses for the time about Easter appear to have been prepared to preach before the Court, as they commence with the words, "Worschypul sufferanc and frendys."

been doing their duty in instructing the children of their schools in religious knowledge? Or, to put it another way: what explicit evidence is there likely to be, say, a couple of hundred years hence (even if meantime there be no such wholesale destruction of documents as took place in the sixteenth century), that, say, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is regularly administered by our Catholic clergy to-day? For the same reason it would be asking more than we have any right to expect, to demand formal documentary evidence of the performance of this plain and well-recognized duty of religious instruction.

We have, however, I expect, sufficient material to satisfy most people. The Episcopal, or Chapter, Registers fortunately in some few cases contain documents recording the results of the regular visitation of parishes. It is almost by chance, of course, that papers of this kind have been preserved. Most of them would have been destroyed as possessing little importance in the eyes of those who ransacked the archives at the time of the change of religion. The testimony of these visitation papers as to the performance of this duty of instruction on the part of the clergy is most valuable. Hardly less important is the proof they afford of the intelligent interest taken by the lay-folk of the parish in the work, and of their capability of rationally and religiously appreciating the instructions given them by their clergy. The process of these visitations must be understood. First of all, certain of the parishioners were chosen and examined upon oath as to the state of the parish, and as to the way in which the pastor performed his duties. As samples of these sworn

depositions we may take what are to be found in a "Visitation of Capitular Manors and Estates of the Exeter Diocese," extracts from which have recently been printed by Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, in the Register of Bishop Stapeldon. The record of the Visitations comprises the first fifteen years of the fourteenth century; at one place, Colaton, we find the *jurati* depose that their parson preaches in his own way, and on the Sundays expounds the Gospels as well as he can (*quatenus novit*)! He does not give them much instruction (*non multum eos informat*), they think, in "the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, and the deadly sins." At another place, the priest, one Robert Blond, "preaches, but," as appears to the witnesses, "not sufficiently clearly;" but they add, as if conscious of some hypercriticism, that they had long been accustomed to pastors who instructed them most carefully in all that pertained to the salvation of their souls. But these are the least satisfactory cases. In most instances the priest is said to instruct his people "well (*bene*) and excellently (*optime*)," and the truth of the testimony appears more clearly in places where, in other things, the parish-folk do not consider their priest quite perfection, as for instance at Culmstock, where the vicar, Walter, is said to be too long over the Matins and Mass on feasts; or still more at St. Mary Church, where the people think that in looking after his worldly interests, their priest is somewhat too hard on them in matters of tithe.

The Register from which these details are taken is a mere accidental survival, but the point which it is of importance to remember is this: that during Catholic times in the course of every few years the

clergy were thus personally reported upon, so to say, to the chief pastor or his delegates, and the oath of the witnesses is a proof of how gravely this duty was regarded. And here I may note in passing, a fact little realized or even understood, namely, that one of the great differences between ecclesiastical life in the middle ages and in modern times lies in the fact that then people had no chance of going to sleep. There was a regular system of periodical visitations, and everything was brought to the test of inquiry of a most elaborate and searching kind, in which every corner was swept out.

In this special instance, before passing on, I would call attention to the manifest intelligence, in spiritual things, shown by these jurors—peasants and farmers—in out-of-the-way parishes of clod-hopping Devon, in the early years of the fourteenth century. I have a doubt whether, notwithstanding the Board Schools, any of our own country parish-folk could do better at the present day.

To assist parish priests in the preparation of these familiar discourses, various manuals were drawn up during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is possible now to refer to only one or two of the best known, but as a fact a large number of such works may be found in our national MSS. collections. I will first name the volume called *Pars Oculi Sacerdotis*, which was probably composed either by a certain William Pagula, or Walter Parker, about the middle of the fourteenth century. It was very popular and much sought after. It is named frequently in inventories and wills, and has thus sometimes been an evident puzzle to editors. No less than five complete copies, as well as several fragments, are among the

MSS. in the British Museum. It well deserved its popularity among the pre-Reformation clergy, for it not only furnishes most useful matter for the usual parish instructions, but is really a very complete manual of teaching on almost every detail of clerical life. One portion of the tract is devoted to the subject of the parochial discourses, which the author declares have to be given by all priests once in each quarter. In delivering these the priest is urged to be as simple as possible in his language, and to suit himself in every way to his audience.¹

¹ Some further account of this important tract may be given with advantage. The tract begins by instructing the priest on the *præces confessorii*: the kind of questions it is well to ask from various people—e.g., religious, secular priests, merchants, soldiers, &c. Then comes a method of examination of conscience in detail, &c. The priest is advised to urge his penitents to say seven times daily the *Pater* and *Credo* to correspond to the seven canonical hours. Should any one be found not to know these he is to be enjoined to learn them, together with the *Ave Maria*, at once. The confessor is to inculcate a devotion to the Guardian Angels upon those who come to him, and teach them some little verses to say in order to beg the protection of their guardian spirits. The verse given in the *Dextra Pars Oculi* may be Englished thus:

O angel who my guardian art,
Thro' God's paternal love;
Defend and shield and rule the charge,
Assigned thee from above,

From vice's stain preserve my soul,
O gentle angel bright;
In all my life be thou my stay,
To all my steps the light.

Then follow the various modes of absolving from excommunication, &c., and in this connection copies of the reserved cases, with the *Magna Carta* and the *Carta de Foresta*, the keeping of which was enforced in A.D. 1254 by ecclesiastical censures.

The second part of the *Dextra Pars Oculi* deals minutely and carefully with the instructions which a priest should give his people, not only as to matters of belief, but as to decorum and behaviour in church, cemetery, &c. These materials for instructions are arranged under some thirty-one headings. Following on this are the explanations of the familiar instructions which priests were bound to give to their people four times a year and sermons on various subjects, chiefly on *temptations*.

In another treatise closely resembling this *Pars Oculi Sacerdotis*—so closely, indeed, that it has sometimes been mistaken for a portion of it—is the better known *Pupilla Oculi* of John de Burgo, or Borough, Rector of Collingham, in A.D. 1385. It was only to a certain extent original, for, as the author states in his Preface, he has called it *Pupilla Oculi*, “because it is to a large extent drawn from another work entitled *Oculus Sacerdotis*.” This manual also was evidently much in demand by the clergy. Numerous manuscript copies of it are in existence, and it has been printed several times. One edition, that of A.D. 1510, was issued from the press by the printer Wolfgang at the expense of an English merchant of London named William Bretton, and was sold, as the title-page sets forth, at Pepwell’s bookshop in St. Paul’s Churchyard.¹ Both the *Pars Oculi* and the *Oculus Sacerdotis* bear a close resemblance to another tract called *Regimen*

The third part of the volume, entitled the *Sinistra Pars Oculi*, is in fact a careful treatise on the sacraments. The instructions upon the Blessed Eucharist are especially good, and in the course of them many matters of English practice are touched upon and explanation is given of the ceremonies of the Mass.

¹ Its full title is *Pupilla oculi omnibus presbyteris precipue Anglicanis necessaria*. On the back of the title-page of the 1510 edition is a letter from Augustine Aggeus to W. Bretton. After saying that societies exist to propagate books, the author declares that Bretton has been induced to print the *Pupilla* by a desire that the rites and sacraments of the Church should be better known, and to secure “that nowhere in the English Church” these rites should be badly observed or understood. It is clear from the letter that W. Bretton had already had other works printed in the same way, and it is known that amongst those works were copies of Lyndwode’s *Provinciale* (1505), *Psalterium et Hymni* (1506), *Hora*, &c. (1506), *Speculum Spirituale*, and Hampole, *De Emendatione Vitæ* (1510), (cf. Ames, Ed. Herbert, iii. p. 16). Pepwell, the publisher, at the sign of the *Holy Trinity*, was the same who published many books printed abroad, and had dealings with Bishops Stokesley and Tunstall.

Animarum,¹ which was apparently compiled as early as A.D. 1343.

Another sample of these priests' manuals, chiefly intended to furnish material for popular instruction, is a fourteenth-century tract called the *Speculum Christiani*. It was composed by one John Watton with the distinct purpose, as the Preface informs us, of aiding the clergy in giving the teaching commanded by the Constitutions of Archbishop Peccham. In many ways the *Speculum Christiani* is the most useful and important of this class of manuals. A considerable portion is given in English, each division, for example, being prefaced by simple rhymes in the vernacular, giving the chief points to be borne in mind. In fifteenth-century sermons I have frequently met with these rude rhymes, introduced into the text of a discourse, as if they were perfectly well known to the audience. At haphazard I take a couple of examples. The First Commandment is summed up thus :

Thou shalt love thy God with heart entire,
With all thy soul and all thy might,

¹ The prologue to the *Regimen Animarum* (Harl. MS. 2272, fol. 2) says the work is compiled chiefly from the *Summa Summarum Raymundi*, *Summa Confessorum*, *Veritates Theologicæ*, *Pars oculi Sacerdotis*, &c. The work is divided into three parts : (1) *De Moribus et scientia presbyterorum et aliorum clericorum*, (2) *De exhortationibus et doctrinis bonis erga subditos suos faciendis*, (3) *De septem Sacramentis*.

In the second part the priest is urged to instruct his people constantly in English, and no one who will examine this portion can fail to be struck at the minute character of these instructions. It may be noted that at fol. 91b the priest is urged to teach his people to bow at the Sacred Name, and to add the name *Jesus* to the end of the *Ave Maria*, and to explain to them the Indulgences granted to such as do so by Popes John XXII. and Urban IV.

The third part begins, in this copy, at fol. 132, and treats the sacraments most fully. In speaking of *Confirmation*, the necessity of *consecrated* oil is insisted upon. The volume closes with a description and explanation of the Canon of the Holy Mass.

And other God in no manner
Thou shalt not have by day nor night.

And the precept of keeping holy certain days is prefaced by the following :

Thy holy days keep well also,
From worldly works take thou thy rest ;
All thy household the same shall do,
Both wife and child, servant and beast.

The number of copies of the *Speculum Christiani* to be found in the Museum collection of MSS. is some ten or twelve, and this may be taken as evidence of its popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was translated into English by one John Byrd in the latter century, and was one of the earliest books ever put into type in England. An edition was printed in London by William of Machlin, at the expense of a London merchant, about A.D. 1480, and in the first decade of the sixteenth century it was reprinted, but without the English verses, at least three times.¹ I cannot pass from a brief notice of this excellent manual of instructions without pointing out that in it may be found some beautiful prayers to the Blessed Sacrament and our Lady, which were formerly used by our Catholic ancestors. The English verses beginning :

Mary Mother, wel thou bee,
Mary Mother, think on me,

I should like to see reprinted, and, indeed, the entire

¹ The Museum has four printed copies : (1) the supposed print of 1480 ; (2) a copy of 1500, printed at Paris ; (3) another of 1502 ; and (4) one printed by Thomas Rees, A.D. 1513, in London. The later copies have no English verses ; but that they were intended for English use seems clear from the fact that the prologue to the volume, in which the author says that it is intended to furnish priests with material for the instructions they are bound to give by the Constitutions of Peccham, is reprinted.

manual deserves to be better known than it is amongst us to-day.¹

Space obliges me to pass rapidly on to the second point for our consideration—that of preaching proper in the two centuries before the Reformation era. I would, however, ask you to believe that the question of popular instruction has only been touched upon. I could give many other examples of manuals such as I have here introduced to notice, and I have said nothing whatever of what may be called formal theological text-books, all of which were, of course, calculated to aid the clergy, in what the great Grosseteste calls, “as much a part of the *cura pastoralis* as the administration of the sacraments.” I must, however, give one word of warning. When writers talk of people being taught their *Pater*, something very different is meant from the mere repetition of the words. A large number of systematic instructions during the middle ages were based upon the explanation of the Our Father. Any one who may care to pursue this subject cannot but be amazed at the ingenious way the petitions of the Lord’s

¹ Besides the volumes named in the text there are a considerable number of works of much the same kind. One such is the *Flos Florum*, a copy of which is among the Burney MS. (No. 356) in the British Museum. It is divided into five-and-twenty books, the first being occupied with an explanation of the Lord’s Prayer; the second with a tract on the virtues and vices; the third with an account of the priest’s personal duties; the fifth with notes on the teaching which parish priests are bound to give to their people.—Another book is called *Cilium Oculi Sacerdotis*, and is divided into two parts. The first treats about clerical duties, and especially of the duties of a confessor; the second part is a tract upon the Ten Commandments. Here, as in so many similar works, some interesting points of practice in Catholic England are touched upon. For example, we read that every rector of a parish should have a cleric to assist him at the public Mass, and to read the Epistle. This cleric may be vested in an alb, and besides Church duty should teach the children their creed, “*id est*, their faith,” and their “letters,” besides “teaching the singing.” (Harl. MS. 4968.)

Prayer are made the pegs on which to hang a definite course of teaching on the whole of Christian doctrine.¹

It is impossible to consider the subject of that systematic religious instruction which was constantly being repeated in mediæval times without wondering whether it had its proper effect upon the minds of the people. The proof of the wisdom of our forefathers is, I think, sufficiently evidenced by the history of the change of religion throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. In other words (confining our attention to England), the way in which the Catholic faith had to be uprooted from the minds of the people is surely a proof that they had been well grounded in it. Now that the real facts are becoming known it is beginning to be suspected in several quarters that the change of religion was brought about, not by the spontaneous acceptance by the people of Protestantism in place of the Catholic faith, but by a process of systematic and deliberate religious starvation. And taking a comprehensive survey, the Reformation in Europe, as a whole, was by no means a popular movement ; but, for the most part, the new faith was only, after many a struggle, imposed upon nations by force and the will of the Prince.

But let us turn to the question of *sermons* in the later middle ages. The work of instruction may be

¹ Harl. MS. 1648, for example, is an instance of a book of instructions in Christian doctrine founded upon the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. It is arranged in tabular form, and is most ingeniously devised to convey a great amount of solid instruction. The key to the arrangement is on fol. 1 b, where it is said, "Per istas septem petitiones impetrantur septem dona Spiritus Sancti, que extrahunt a corde septem peccata mortalia et plantant in corde septem virtutes principales que nos perducunt ad septem beatitudines et ad eorum merita."

said roughly to have been the special office of the secular clergy. In the same general way preaching may be regarded as coming within the special province of the Religious Orders. Of course in such general statements the limit must be taken as understood ; and as a fact, at the outset, it is necessary to guard ourselves against the impression that, because the friars gave a great impulse to popular preaching, it began with them ; just as it is useful to guard against the notion that it was Wicliff who introduced the preaching of vernacular sermons. Indeed, unless the accounts of the preaching of the friars in the thirteenth century are mere myths, of this latter there can be no question whatever. The Dominicans and Franciscans were essentially popular preachers in the truest sense of the word. They went from village to village speaking to the people wherever they could, in public places as well as in the churches. They gathered their audiences together on the great roadways as readily as in consecrated spots. For the most part they had to do with the masses, and plain, unadorned speaking was their *forte*. As a rule they made no attempt at set and polished discourses, refraining from elaborate argument or the discussion of abstract questions. They extemporized their teaching, suiting it to the needs of the moment, and pointing their moral with anecdotes, fables, and examples. Hence their triumph. The people followed them in crowds, hung upon their words, were carried away by their earnest—albeit perhaps rough—eloquence, and made their conquest easy. But even the friars (a century and a half be it noted before Wicliff's "poor priests") by no means commenced, though they certainly gave an impetus to, the practice

of vernacular preaching. From the earliest times the people were spoken to in the language they could understand. St. Bede, for example, describes the crowds of Saxons who flocked to their churches to hear the words of the Christian missionaries. What has misled so many writers, apparently, is the fact that the sermons which have been preserved to us from the middle ages are for the most part in Latin. This is true; but it is no less a fact that the preachers of those days used to compose discourses in Latin which they afterwards delivered in English, a practice which I fear might seem strange, or even intolerable, to the immense majority of the Anglican country clergymen, who in these more cultured days have received the best education the national Universities can afford.

In the same way as the work of instruction proper took a fixed form, so that of preaching was fashioned on a well-understood and well-recognized model. A short exordium, following upon the chosen text of Scripture, led almost invariably to a prayer for Divine guidance and assistance, which concluded with the *Pater* and *Ave*, and only then did the preacher address himself to the development of his subject. For the most part, until comparatively recent times, which have introduced somewhat strange themes into the sacred pulpit, the sermon was based almost entirely upon the Bible, and generally upon the Gospel, or other Scripture, proper for the day. This practice, whilst it imbued the minds of those who listened with a thorough knowledge of the sacred writings, gives the sermons as we read them now so great a similarity that we are apt to regard them as generally dull and uninteresting.

With rare exceptions it is clear that, in England at least, brilliant, startling, and sensational sermonizing was not regarded with favour, but, on the contrary, was looked on with suspicion, as savouring of the "treatise," or method of the schools, and founded on the practice of heretics.

Numerous tracts of the art of preaching, drawn up for the use of our English preachers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are still to be seen in our public libraries. I shall here only refer to one, written somewhere in the middle of the fourteenth century by the celebrated Dominican, Thomas Waleys, in order to teach the mode and form of pulpit oratory, in what he then describes as the "modern style." The whole tract is instructive, but I will here give only a brief epitome of the first chapter, which treats of "the preacher." He should, the master declares, undertake the duty, not from vanity or love of notoriety, but from pure love of God's truth; and prayer and study should go before his work. As to his gestures, he should endeavour not to stand like a statue, nor to throw himself about regardless of decorum. He is to refrain from shouting, and not to speak so low that his audience have to strain to catch his words. He is not to speak too rapidly, not to hesitate "like a boy who repeats lessons he does not quite understand." The theme should be spoken with great distinctness, so that all may understand the subject, and, if necessary, it should be repeated. Before his discourse the preacher should retire to some private place and thoroughly practise the sermon he is about to deliver, with the method of declamation, the gestures, and even the expressions of countenance suitable to its various

parts. Finally, the author urges the advisability of having some candid and reliable friend to listen to the discourse, who will correct the faults of pronunciation, &c., when it is over. This is not such bad advice to preachers, given at a time when we are asked to believe that sermons were almost unknown.¹

Turning to the material aids to the intending preacher, we can describe them—even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—as really vast. Confining our attention, of course, to England only, we may, in the first place, note some collections of sermons for Sundays and feast-days very popular in the fifteenth century. The first course of such sermons I will mention is that drawn up by John Felton, the Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. His discourses won for him the name of *homiliarius*, or *concionator*, and his course of Sunday sermons—some fifty-eight in number, and of which there are many copies among the Museum manuscripts—were much used by subsequent preachers. In his Preface our author states, that on account of the poverty of those who are students in moral and dogmatic theology, and con-

¹ Friar Waleys, in other places in this tract—*De Arte Predicandi*—gives much excellent advice from which we may cull one or two points. Speaking of the *subject* of a sermon, he says that it is the custom (*consuetudo apud modernos*) always to have some text upon which to found a discourse. This should be a real theme, taken from Holy Scripture, and always from the Lesson, Epistle, or Gospel of the day, except on great feasts, such as Easter. Generally it should be a sentence, but sometimes it is best to take the whole Epistle or Gospel and explain its meaning, for “this kind of preaching is easy and very often greatly profitable to ordinary people.” The author warns the preacher that he is not to think sermons are merely arguments; a discourse should not only convince the mind, but lead it to good affections and implant in it devout thoughts. He urges priests never to finish a sermon without some mention of our Lady, Christ’s Passion, or eternal happiness.

sequently by reason of the few books they are able to obtain to help them, he has been induced by the importunity of friends to draw up, for the use of any priest having the cure of souls, a course of sermons founded on the Gospels of the Sundays. "They are," he adds, "merely the crumbs I have collected as they have fallen from the tables of my masters, whose names I have given in the margin." A note in one of the copies among the Harleian MSS. says that the sermons were published in the year 1431.¹ They are, I fancy, for our modern taste too much divided and subdivided, and I have little doubt they would be to-day voted "dry." Various authorities are cited in the margin, as for example Waleys', the *Vitæ Patrum*, &c., and stories are frequently introduced to drive home a point, or fix the attention on a moral. Although the series is complete, I fancy the discourses were really intended rather as a help to the priest in the preparation of his Sunday sermon than as a collection of sermons to be preached exactly as they are set down. The stories, for example, are often mere indications of what were then doubtless well-known anecdotes, but the memory of which has

¹ In one copy of these *Sermones Dominicales* (Harl. MS. 868, fol. 2) is the following note: "In nomine Dni nri Ihu Xpi cui sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Hoc opus completum fuit a venerabili viro Domino, Johē Felton, vicario perpetuo ecclesie paroch. Beate Marie Magdalene, Oxon; Lincoln die, in anno Dni: Mcccxxxi." Leland says of John Felton: "He was an eager student of philosophy and theology; (yet) the mark towards which he earnestly pressed with eye and mind was none other than that by his continual exhortations he might lead the dwellers on the Isis from the filth of their vices to the purity of virtue." Besides the *Sermones Dominicales*, in some copies (e.g. Harl. MS. 5390, fols. 143—209) there is another collection of fifty sermons of a more miscellaneous nature. In his illustrative stories he uses Pliny, Seneca, &c., freely, and as a rule the sermon is shorter than the more formal discourse for the Sunday. Besides set sermons, Felton drew up for the use of preachers and other teachers an *Alphabetum Theologicum*, from the works of Bishop Grosseteste.

long since perished. Especially is this the case where English and local examples are referred to, as: "Note about the man in Bristol;" or, "About the woman in London, to whom our Lord showed His Heart." At the end of every copy of these Sunday discourses I have examined, there is a careful and copious subject-index; and many indications are given, by subsequent sermon-writers, of the influence of this collection upon the preaching of the age.

Another set of sermons, evidently much in use in the fifteenth century, and many copies of which are still in existence, is that known as the *Liber Festivalis* of John Mirk, a Canon Regular of Lilleshull. This author is perhaps best known by his tract entitled *Instructions for Parish Priests*, which was published some years ago by the Early English Text Society. He lived much about the same time as Felton, namely, about the middle of the fifteenth century, and his sermons were intended for use on the higher festivals of the Christian year. I should like to quote a few words of his Preface, putting it, however, into modern English.

God, maker of all things [he says], be at our beginning, and give us all His blessing, and bring us all to a good ending, Amen. By my own feeble lecture I feel how it fareth with others that are in the same degree (as I am), who having charge of souls are obliged to teach their parishioners on all the principal feasts of the year. But many have as excuse, the want of books and the difficulty of reading, and therefore to help such mean clerks, as I am myself, I have drawn this treatise.

The sermons themselves are short, and frequently afford interesting information as to Catholic practices

in those days. There is always one anecdote, and often there are two or more, and whilst many of these may perhaps appear to us somewhat grotesque and absurd, a study of the whole series of sermons cannot but impress us with a belief that the priest who could use them must have been upon terms of most familiar intercourse with his people, and unless religious instruction had been constantly and regularly given, he never could have talked to them as he is made to do in these sermons.¹

The *Liber Festivalis*, printed by Caxton in A.D. 1483, although by no means identical with John Mirk's, is practically founded upon it. It has sermons for nineteen Sundays and ferias, commencing with the first Sunday of Advent and ending with Corpus Christi day. These are followed by discourses for

¹ A few extracts from some of these popular instructions on the feasts of the Church may be given. The following, addressed, as the rubric directs, at the *Tenebræ*, or Office of Matins, on the last days of Holy Week, after the Hours were finished, and "before the discipline is given to the people," was to be addressed to them; "good men and women, as you see, these three days, the service is said at eventide in darkness. Wherefore it is called among you *tenabulles*, but Holy Church calleth it *tenebras*, that is to say, 'darkness,' and why this service is performed in darkness the holy Fathers assign three reasons," &c. The people are then urged to be present at these services, and to obey the common practice of coming to them in silence and thinking upon Christ's Passion.

In the instruction on Maundy Thursday, after explaining that the Church calls it "Our Lord's Supper day," the author continues: "It is also in Englis tong schere thursday, for in ovr olde fadur dayes men wolden yt day makon sheron hem honest, and dode here hedes and clyppon here berdes and so makon hem honest agen astur day; for ye moroze yei woldon done here body non ese, but sulfur penaunce, in mynde of Hym yt sullurd so harte for hem. On Saturday thai myghte nozte whyle, what for long service, what for othur occupacion that thai haddon for the weke comynge," &c. In the sermons there are many indications of Catholic practice, as for example, that procession was made to the font of the church for the seven days after its blessing on Holy Saturday. In the short instruction on the Assumption, the author introduces a hymn to our Blessed Lady, which he urges his audience to learn by heart and constantly repeat.

forty-three of the chief holidays and saints' days of the year, and one sermon, suited for the anniversary of the dedication of a parish church. Then come somewhat detailed explanations of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments, &c. At the close of the fifteenth century the general popularity of the *Liber Festivalis* may be gauged by the fact that it was printed twice by Caxton, twice by Wynkyn de Worde, twice by Pynson, once by an English printer, whose name is unknown, in A.D. 1486, and thrice abroad before the close of the century.

The foregoing are samples of the many collections of sermons—chiefly for the Sundays of the year—which were clearly used by the English preachers in discharge of their duty of teaching, in the later middle ages. But besides these collected sermons, which might be either used to draw material from, or preached just as they stood, there were many books intended for the purpose of helping priests in the preparation of their discourses. As an example of these aids to preachers, we may take the well-known *Summa Predicantium*, drawn up by the English Dominican, John Bromyard, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. There is a good copy in the King's Library at the British Museum, which formerly belonged to the Rochester Monastic Library. The book—a very large thick folio volume—is drawn up alphabetically, and information can thus be obtained with the greatest facility on most matters upon which a preacher is likely to need instruction. An examination of its contents will prove to any one who doubts that it must have been a mine of wealth to a priest engaged in the work of preaching. Bromyard's

work was printed abroad, twice in the fifteenth century and again in the middle of the sixteenth.¹

Another work, similar to the *Summa Predicatorum*, was drawn up by Alan of Lynn, a Carmelite, who wrote much in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The mere list of his works fills the best part of a closely-printed page of Tanner, and a large portion of his labours was directed to lighten the work of preachers in the preparation of their sermons. Of course the writers of the period drew much, especially on all matters concerning natural history, from the work of Bartholomew the Englishman—sometimes called Glanville—a Minorite friar who taught in France during the thirteenth century. His book, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, alongside of that of Vincent of Beauvais, was the Encyclopædia of the middle ages, and all his facts were arranged with a moral and religious object. It was translated into English by Trevisa in A.D. 1398, and had been printed in fourteen or fifteen editions before the year 1500.²

¹ The theological *common-place books* which still exist in MS. prove that the clergy often took great pains to adapt their studies to the work of teaching. To take an example: Harl. MS. 2344, is a theological note-book certainly used, and possibly drawn up in the fifteenth century by one John Chapman, "Rector of Honey Lane," London. Chapman was a doctor in theology, and, from 1493 to 1505, appears to have sometimes occupied the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, since he gives, on the first leaf of his note-book, a list of his sermons delivered in that celebrated London pulpit. The interest of the small volume lies in the fact that it is a collection of notes on a great variety of theological matters. They are in a form which would probably be considered most useful for referring to. In the margin a number is set against each *distinction*, thus,

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, and at the end is an alphabetical index—

e.g., *De Pilati et Herodis concordia mystice intellecta*

71

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² The work of another Dominican, Robert Holcot, called *Pro Christi verbum Evangelizantibus*, deserves to be mentioned as much used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Wood states that Holcot was "first a lawyer, and afterwards a Friar Preacher." He studied at

In sermons of the period about which we are engaged, I have met with many references to a work evidently very similar to Bromyard's *Summa*, called the *Alphabetum Predicantium*. The work also of another English Dominican, Nicholas Gorham—*Thema et distinctiones*—furnished not only the skeleton for a sermon, but material wherewith to clothe it, arranged alphabetically and with a good index of words. The influence of Gorham can be traced in the preachers whose works have come down to us (although, by the way, his name is not even mentioned in the great *Dictionary of National Biography*).¹ One northern priest, Robert Ripon, probably a monk of Durham, for example, is constantly quoting him as his authority. The volume of sermons by this Durham monk may be noted in passing. It is not a complete course, but a somewhat miscellaneous collection. The Sundays of Lent, for example, and those of the spring quarter, have often as many as eight sermons for a single day, and there are some six or eight discourses preached at various Synods at Durham. In one of these the preacher

Oxford, and was the friend of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. He was a great lecturer on Holy Scripture, and is said, with some probability, to have been the real author of the *Philobiblion*, now claimed for Richard de Bury. His work in aid of preachers was printed in Paris in 1510 and 1513. Besides this a small work, which may be described as skeleton sermons for the *Themata Dominicalia*, was drawn up by him, and is known as the *Dieta Salutis*. Seven or eight copies of this work are among the British Museum MSS. Holcot died in the fatal year of the great plague, 1349.

¹ Gorham was certainly an Englishman (see Tanner). He was apparently first a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and subsequently became a Dominican, and, going abroad, was confessor to Philip the Fair of France. He taught much in Paris, and was esteemed an eloquent preacher. He died in A.D. 1298. The Sunday sermons in Harl. MS. 755, fols. 1—148, were attributed by Warley to Gorham, at least in part. His book of Dominical sermons was printed at Paris in 1509, under the title of the *Golden Foundation*.

strongly urges upon all who have the care of souls a diligent study of the Bible, for he says: "Curates are bound to have a knowledge of Scripture, for preaching the Word of God to their people." Running through all the sermons *de Synodis*, moreover, is the same plain demand for learning and piety of life on the part of the priest, and the same insistence upon the obligation they were under to preach constantly to their people.

The study of Scripture urged by this northern preacher must certainly have been practised throughout the whole period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We have remarked before that the sermons were, as a rule, Scriptural expositions, illustrated chiefly from the Holy Writ, and it is impossible to read them without rising from the study with a profound belief in the detailed knowledge of the Bible possessed alike by priest and people. The clergy from early times had vast storehouses, both of Biblical and Patristic knowledge in the great *glossed* texts, which, together with the words of Scripture, presented the interpretations given by the chief Fathers of the Church. Before the close of the fourteenth century, moreover, the great value of an index for the purposes of study had been recognized in England, and many earnest workers had devoted their energies mainly to throwing open, by means of their *tabula*, or indexes, what had hitherto been unworked and closed mines of buried knowledge. The value of this all-important labour has not been sufficiently recognized in the past; but, amongst those conspicuous in this work, we may name Alan, the Carmelite, of Lynn, and later than him, Abbot Whethamsted of St. Albans. A glance at the works

of the former will show all that he did in this matter. Concordances and subject-indexes to the Bible, specially for the use of preachers, were multiplied in the early part of the fifteenth century ; and the works of the Fathers, chronicles, and even the sermons of such a comparatively recent preacher as Bishop Grosseteste, had copious and well-arranged indexes made to them.

Whilst upon this subject I cannot refrain from calling attention to the great Catalogue of Monastic and Collegiate Libraries of England, drawn up in the fourteenth century by a monk of Edmundsbury "for the use and profit," as he says, "of students and preachers." For this reason it was called by him a *Promptuarium*. The list is arranged so that by the help of numbers attached to each monastery it might at once be seen where any given work could be found in the English fourteenth century libraries. Thus, for example, suppose a student or preacher wished to consult the sermons of St. Anselm, a glance at Boston of Bury's list would show him the numbers 89, 43, 19, 116, 166, and 65 placed against the title of this work. Turning next to the key list of monastic libraries he would at once be able to tell that complete copies were to be seen in the libraries of Bermondsey, Woburn, St. Paul's London, Shrewsbury, Hexham, and Ramsey. The use made of this catalogue for preaching purposes is evidenced by the way in which the Franciscans subsequently arranged the list of libraries for their own members, to correspond with the seven "Custodies," or divisions, into which the Franciscan Province of England was apportioned. But, although no account of the preaching in the two centuries, before the change of

religion, would have been complete without some mention of this gigantic work of Boston of Bury, I have been able, of course, merely to refer to it. To do justice to it, the subject would require an article to itself.

Before passing away from the question of material aids to preachers in the later mediæval period, it is proper to advert briefly to the various collections of stories intended to adorn and lighten the dulness of ordinary discourses. Tales, examples, and even fables with moral applications were apparently introduced into the pulpit in very early times. From the days of St. Gregory the Great the practice of pointing a moral by the relation of an anecdote is clearly evidenced, but its ordinary use may be said to date from the rise of the Dominicans in the thirteenth century. Very shortly afterwards collections of "histories," suitable for the purpose, began to appear. In A.D. 1294, for example, a Dominican, Etienne de Besancon, composed his *Alphabetum exemplorum*, believing, as he says in his Preface, that "an example is more efficacious than the most subtle preaching." From the first the authorities were urgent as to the need of caution in the use of these embellishments, but the practice once introduced soon became general. Even before the close of the thirteenth century Dante refers, with some regret, to the growing habit of making people laugh in sermons. But Chaucer's *pardoner* knew well the taste of lay people for pulpit stories when he says :

For lewed (*i.e.*, unlearned) people loven tales olde.

The well-known *Gesta Romanorum*, probably of English origin, the *Vite Patrum* and the lives of the

saints generally, furnished the mediæval preacher with ample material for his anecdotes, and many collections of appropriate stories, arranged under useful moral headings, were at hand to assist him. Local colouring is often met with, and several volumes of *Historettes* for English preachers, drawn up in the fourteenth century, are known. Quite recently one such work, by a hitherto unknown English Franciscan writer, Nicholas Bozon, has been published in France; and the evident common origin of stories found in sermons of the fifteenth century shows, as we should have expected, that there was no lack of material of this kind.

I have pointed out that for the most part parochial sermons were founded upon Scripture—chiefly upon the Scripture proper for the Sunday—upon which they were preached. There are, however, of course, many examples of set discourses at this period upon other, and, as some may think, more entertaining themes. The subject is so vast that I can give but few examples of such sermons. The first collection of English set discourses I recall to mind, not to speak of the great Grosseteste, is that of the sermons of the celebrated Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh—a learned man, best known, perhaps, as the uncompromising opponent of the privileges claimed by the Mendicant Friars.¹ Although written in

¹ FitzRalph was born at Dundalk, co. Louth. Some of his early life was spent in the household of that learned lover of books, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. Amongst his companions here were Thomas Bradwardine, afterwards Archbishop, Walter Burley, and Robert Holcot, afterwards the celebrated Dominican preacher. When, as Archbishop of Armagh, FitzRalph was asked to preach at St. Paul's upon the great question of the friars' privileges, Richard Kilmington, also an old friend of his, was Dean. In his work, *Defensio Curatorum*, the Archbishop says that having come to London on business connected with his see, he found great disputes going on between the secular

Latin, the discourses were, as they expressly state, preached in English. Many were delivered in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral during the time FitzRalph was Dean; others were preached in the cemetery of the hospital, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, and elsewhere in the city and neighbourhood; whilst others again were delivered at St. Paul's Cross, London, and at various other places in England and Ireland. It may seem somewhat strange, perhaps, that the sermons of so well-known a man as FitzRalph have never been printed, but such is the case. I note that on more than one occasion FitzRalph, preaching about the year 1340, is said to have commenced his sermon by reading the whole Gospel in English—an interesting and significant fact. The most celebrated of these discourses were preached in A.D. 1356 at St. Paul's Cross, and in them he fiercely attacked the friars' privileges. They are certainly bold and vigorous enough in their language, and we cannot but be astonished at the way the Archbishop, speaking on behalf of the Bishops of England, could possibly have addressed himself to so burning a question in the public pulpit at St. Paul's. We judge, however, that he was not entirely free from interruption, for he tells us himself that in reply to an objection raised

clergy and the Mendicant Orders, and after much pressing he consented to preach on the subject at the Cross, *in vulgari*, some eight sermons. His propositions gave great offence to the Minorites, and he was summoned to Rome to answer their accusations. His chief contention appears to be that people ought to confess to their parish priest in their parish church at least once a year, just as they were bound to make their offerings in their own parish church twice or three times yearly. He complains that the friars used their faculties to entice children to join them, and that once they entered their ranks not even parents were allowed to see their sons except in the presence of professed friars. He adds that, for fear of the influence exerted by members of the Mendicant Orders, parents were beginning to hesitate about sending their children to Oxford.

by a friend of the friars in one of these celebrated sermons, he replied: "If you will prove that our Lord ever really begged His bread, I will give you this Bible I hold in my hand."

St. Paul's Cross, be it remarked by the way, at that time and for many years before, "of which there is no memory," says Stowe, was the most celebrated pulpit in England. Some of the sermons preached there help us to realize a scene now long passed away, and to fix a spot upon which, in ages past, so many London audiences have gathered to listen to the voice of the most renowned preachers of the time. The very memory of the spot has almost faded away. It stood—a raised platform beneath a great timber cross—in the open air, and in the midst of the chief burial-ground of the metropolis. There, except in bad weather, when the covered space, called "the shrowds," was used, the great English sermons of the day were preached; and the site often suggested a moral to the speaker. "The audience of the dead bodies under your feet," one is reported to have said, "is as great and greater, as good and better, than you."

Learned and greatly interesting as are the sermons of Archbishop FitzRalph, they cannot, in my estimation, compare with those of another English preacher, whose name I need not give, who lived but a few years later, and who often occupied the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, and must have deeply stirred the hearts of his audience by his exceptional eloquence. His sermons are, I fancy, but little known, but there are more than two hundred and fifty of them in existence. Though preached in English, they were written in free or even elegant Latin, and, if only by

reason of the many historical and topical allusions to be found in them, they fully deserve a place among the monuments of our national literature. I only wish that time would permit me to quote a few samples, not only of this preacher's eloquence, but of the manly vigour with which he publicly attacked abuses, even in the highest places in the land.

The foregoing are imperfect, and, I admit most fully, but detached specimens of the information which lies ready at hand, but which, I fear, is little attended to either by the popular writer or the learned historian. In fact, the difficulty is quite to realize how best to bring home to people the truth in matters such as these. We have been so long accustomed to round assertions, evidently based upon fancy rather than on fact, that in treating a matter such as this, I myself feel as if I were exaggerating, and so hardly know how to deal with, or even justly to appreciate, the facts which crowd themselves upon the mind of any one who will take the trouble—the patient trouble—to inquire. Thus, in this supposed era of “no preaching,” I find that, taking only those who have left evidence in the shape of written collections of sermons, the names of at least two hundred sermon-writers are known to us as having lived and written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most of these, moreover, be it remarked, are Carmelites, the least numerous of the four Mendicant Orders. Are we to suppose that this phenomenon is due to the fact that the Carmelites had in Bale a capable bibliographer, or rather that, whilst the members of the Order of Mount Carmel preached, the other Mendicants were all the time “dumb dogs”? On Mr. Lilly's hypothesis this latter is the

more probable alternative. For my own part I am inclined to think that the record of a vast mass of sermon literature of the two periods previous to the Reformation has perished, simply because the Franciscans and Dominicans, not to mention the other great Orders, possessed no Bale to register their sermon-writers. Still less fortunate, of course, would be the secular clergy, who did not form a corporate body with corporate interests. Hence I would conclude that the list of preachers and sermon-writers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (given in, say, Pitts or Tanner) only contains a proportion—in fact, I may say a small portion—of those who actually lived in that period. Yet even this list contains a very respectable number of names.

It must be long before even a fair sketch of the history of preaching and instruction in England during the later middle ages can be drawn. Even in the British Museum alone it is necessary to examine and weigh the contents of some hundreds of manuscript volumes. It is a case of which we may truly say *labor est ante nos*. But already one or two points of importance stand out clearly from a background of much that is yet vague. First and foremost, it is certainly untrue that religious instruction, in the highest sense of the word, was neglected in pre-Reformation England. Next to this is the prominence given to familiar instruction, as distinct from preaching, and the importance which in Catholic days was attached to the constant—the perpetual reiteration of the same lessons of faith and practice. It may be said that this must have produced a certain sense of sameness, and that education has altered matters in our own times. In point of fact,

however, no amount of education really affects these truths, still less does it advance them. The only question is, how best the truths of religion are impressed upon the mind. I must own to a belief that at the present day our Catholic people have not that clear understanding nor that firm grasp of the great simple truths of their religion which they ought to have. Nor need we be astonished if this be the case: for is there much exaggeration in the statement that after leaving school Catholics now seldom receive regular and systematic instruction upon the elements of faith and practice during the rest of their lives? Here we are living in the midst of Protestants, and I would ask if, when the whole nation was Catholic and had been so for generations, when the very atmosphere which Englishmen breathed was impregnated with Catholicity, it was considered necessary never to cease repeating instructions of what, for lack of a better expression, I may call "the Penny Catechism type," it can be safe in these days of vagueness and latitudinarianism to rely—I may say exclusively—for the teaching of our people on the formality of set sermons?

Of course I must not be understood as wishing unduly to obtrude these considerations; but in investigating the history of religion among the English people many doubts such as these force themselves on the attention of the inquirer, and many a practical question is raised in his mind of which at the outset he had no suspicion.

England's Title: Our Lady's Dowry:

Its History and Meaning.

BY THE REV. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

IN 1893, Pope Leo XIII. celebrated his Episcopal Jubilee, and pilgrimages went from all parts of the world to the Holy City, to offer him the homage and congratulations of the faithful. In February, the English pilgrims, conducted by the Duke of Norfolk, were admitted to an audience, and presented to His Holiness by His Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster. In his reply to the address, the Pope used the following words:

Those were truly bright days [he had been speaking of England's early history], and it pleases Us to point out two most important religious lessons to be drawn from them; and as they reflect great credit on your forefathers, so will they, We doubt not, if repeated now, prove to be of the greatest benefit to all your countrymen. The first is the wonderful filial love which burnt within the heart of your forefathers towards the great Mother of God, Christ's happy minister in our salvation, to whose service they consecrated themselves with such abundant proofs of devotion, that the kingdom itself acquired the singular and highly honourable title of "Mary's Dowry." The second lesson relates to the special worship always paid by the English to the Prince of the Apostles, as primary patron of their kingdom. . . . Therefore it is Our most earnest desire that faithful England should once more, with the greatest fervour, revive her devotion to these two Patrons of the faith, these two powerful guardians of all virtue, and, God prompting Us, We most earnestly exhort the faithful

of England to follow the example of their forefathers, and by a solemn religious rite, to dedicate and consecrate the whole country to the Most Holy Mother of God and to the Blessed Prince of the Apostles. Let this expression of Our ardent desire, fraught with much advantage to yourselves, beloved children, be the chief and pleasing return which We make to you for the good wishes which you have brought to Us.

Of course the Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of England hastened to carry out this desire of the Sovereign Pontiff. In their Letter to the clergy and faithful of the Province of Westminster, dated May 20, 1893, they say : "The Holy Father has used, and thus consecrated, an expression which is familiar to us here, but which has probably never been heard from the mouth of a Pope. He has called this country, *Our Lady's Dowry*. That is to say, he has mentioned with approval that, in the ages of faith, this land was commonly so named."

The Bishops speak of the enthusiasm with which the clergy and laity will unite with themselves in carrying out the wish of the Pope.

Devotion to the Holy Mother of God is, we venture to say, a mark of the Catholics of this country at the present time, just as it was of the generations who lived in the land before the unhappy destruction of the Faith. Devotion to St. Peter, also, is deeply and widely spread. But these are moments when new beginnings are to be made, moments when the spiritual feelings of a community are fanned into a brighter flame by the breath of that Holy Spirit Who breathes where He will. These are God's opportunities, and the servants of God must rise up to meet them. The recent stir and outburst of Catholic love and loyalty could hardly have subsided without leaving its impress upon us all. But when, in addition to the Divine impulse which the events themselves force upon us, we have the express

instruction of the Sovereign Pontiff, there can be no hesitation in resolving to arouse our fervour, and to respond with every effort of generosity to the invitation which it is our happiness to receive. . . .

The Bishops then decreed (1) that a great solemnity should be held in the Church of the Oratory, in London, on June 29th of that year, when after Pontifical High Mass, celebrated by the Cardinal Archbishop, with the assistance of all the Bishops of the Province, and of representatives of the clergy and laity from all parts of England, there should be a solemn Act of Consecration to the Blessed Virgin, and in the afternoon after Pontifical Vespers, an Act of Consecration to the Prince of the Apostles; (2) that this consecration should be renewed in every church throughout England on July 2nd, the feast of our Lady's Visitation; (3) that in all future years, this consecration or dedication should be renewed in every public church, that to our Lady on Rosary Sunday, and that to St. Peter on the Sunday within the octave of his principal festival. On Rosary Sunday, flowers, as a tribute from Our Lady's Dowry, should be solemnly presented before the altar or statue of the Blessed Virgin; and to promote devotion to St. Peter, an altar, or a picture of the Saint, or a *fac-simile* of the statue venerated in the great Roman Basilica of St. Peter, might be fitly erected in all our churches.

It will be remembered with what devotion and solemnity these instructions were carried out in the summer of 1893. It is in order to assist in the renewal and perpetuation of this consecration, as far as our Lady is concerned, that the following pages

not mean simply that England was devout to her, or that England was cherished by her. In such case England might have been called our Lady's servant or daughter, or our Lady's joy and delight; and such titles have been given to most of the Catholic countries of Europe, which have vied one with the other in loyalty and affection to the Queen of Heaven. But the Sovereign Pontiff has said that *Dos Mariæ* is not only a very honourable title, but a singular one, one that belongs specially to England, *perhonorificum nomen et singulare*; and that England may continue to merit this title he wished that a dedication should be made by solemn rite; and in doing this, he says, the English of the present day will imitate the example of their forefathers. The very word then implies an endowment or dotation of England to our Lady, and that it was made by some one who had power to make it, either by the nation as a body or by its representatives in Church or State.

We shall see immediately that history bears witness to such an act of consecration having been formerly made. The reader must not, however, be surprised if the records of this act are scanty. In the sixteenth century not only a religious fanaticism, but a Vandal madness fell upon the nation. There was no more care for art or history than for religion. Every image, statue, picture, or representation, on altar or on wall, in window or in book, was burnt, destroyed, effaced; chronicles and books of prayer were sold for waste-paper or consigned to the flames. In 1542, Henry VIII. enjoined that not only rich reliquaries, and gold and silver images of saints, should

be brought to his treasure-house for the melting-pot, but that, to justify this measure under pretext of piety, "all writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith the people be illuded, be taken away in all places of our realm." "If any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages do continue, they be so taken away *as there remain no memory of it.*" In the first year of Edward VI. these injunctions were re-issued and more stingently enforced. The clergy were ordered "utterly to extinct and destroy all shrines, . . . pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same on walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere, within their churches or houses ; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses." "Spoliation," writes Professor J. A. Froude, "became the law of the land. The statues crashed from their niches, rood and rood-loft were laid low, and the sunlight stared in white and stainless upon the whitened aisles." In 1550 it was further enacted that if any person have in his custody any books or writings of the sort aforesaid" (*i.e.*, regarding devotion to our Lady or the saints), "or any images, &c., heretofore taken out of any church, and do not, before the last day of June next ensuing, deface and destroy the said images, and deliver the said books to be openly burnt, or otherwise defaced and destroyed, he shall be fined for the first and second offences, and for the third shall suffer imprisonment at the King's will." To pass over the similar sacrileges of the time of Elizabeth, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1605

forbidding the possession of all "superstitious books," (as superstition was understood by the Judges and Bishops of King James), and authorizing justices, mayors, and bailiffs, "from time to time to search the houses and lodgings of every Popish recusant convict, or of every person whose wife is or shall be a Popish recusant convict, for Popish books and relics of Popery." Finally, lest any token should still linger to remind the people that England had once been called *Our Lady's Dowry*, during the fanaticism of the Commonwealth commissions were issued for the utter destruction of even the poor remnants of statuary or painting which, by reason of their insignificance or remote position, or perhaps from some touch of Christian feeling, still remained.

It is no wonder then if we have in England few memorials of the dedication of England to our Lady, though we shall see presently that the very effort to hide has been the means of preservation of one at least, and that the most important. The efforts also to rob poor afflicted Catholics of the consolation they could find in any external objects of piety have laid up in national custody another interesting record that would otherwise have long since perished. In a search made in Catholic houses in the reign of James I. for "Popish" books or writings, a poor little tract or leaflet was discovered, and has been incorporated in a very scurrilous narrative or tirade against Catholics, which was prepared for the press but never printed, and is now amongst the MSS. of the British Museum.¹ The paper runs as follows in modern spelling.

¹ Harleian MSS. n. 360.

JESUS.

That England is Our Lady's Dowry.

In the Church of St. Thomas' Hospital in Rome there is a very fair painted and gilded table of imagery work, standing before the altar of St. Edmund the Martyr, once a King of England, which by the view of the wood and workmanship, seemeth to have been painted above a hundred years past. It is in length about five feet and about three feet high. It is divided into five panes. In the middle pane there is a picture of our Blessed Lady. In the next pane, upon her left hand, kneeleth a young King (St. Edmund, as it is thought) in a side robe of scarlet, who, lifting up his eyes and hands towards our Blessed Lady, and holding between his hands the globe or pattern of England, presenteth the same to our Lady, saying thus :

Dos tua, Virgo pia
Hæc est, quare rege, Maria.

O Blessed Virgin, here behold is thy Dowry,
Defend it now, preserve it still in all prosperity.¹

His sceptre and his crown lying before him on a cushion, and St. George in armour standing behind him in the same pane, somewhat leaning forward, and laying his right hand in such manner on the King's back, that he seemeth to present the King and his presents to our Blessed Lady.²

The reader will probably know that St. Thomas's Hospital was an ancient English royal foundation for the reception of English visitors or pilgrims to the Holy City. In the time of Elizabeth it had been converted into a college for the education of priests for the English Mission, and the writer of the above paper may have been often within its walls. We can

¹ Perhaps a more literal translation would be,

Thy Dowry this, O Virgin sweet,
Then rule it, Mary, as is meet.

² Then follows a long prayer in Latin and English. I have printed it in my book called *Our Lady's Dowry*. Third Edit. p. vi.

but regret that he has described the subjects of only two compartments out of the five.

The church was pulled down during the French revolutionary occupation of Rome, at the end of the last century, and the picture has disappeared, nor is there any record of it in the existing papers of the English College. We are able, however, to some extent, to supply the omission. In Alford's *Fides Regia Britannica*, printed in 1663, in Latin, he says :

From the above mentioned causes arose the devotion of our kings to the Mother of God, to whom they consecrated the realm of England as her Dowry. There exists in Rome in the English College a very ancient picture, in which are represented a king and a queen kneeling and offering the island of Britain to her through the intervention of St. John, with this motto :

Dos tua, Virgo pia
Hæc est ; quare rege, Maria.

From the character of the royal robes interwoven with lilies and eagles in gold (the antiquary) Silvester a Petra Sancta has conjectured with much probability that the king represented is Richard II., the queen, Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.¹

There can be no doubt that these two writers are describing the same picture. The words of the inscription are identical. If one of them mentions a king only, the other a king and a queen ; one St. George in armour, the other St. John ; yet that all these and other figures also may have been in the picture is indicated by the first writer, since he speaks of five compartments. The conjecture of the writer of the tract that the king is St. Edmund is merely founded on the dedication of the neighbouring altar,

¹ *Fides Regia Britannica*. Auctore P. Michaele Alfordo, *alias* Griffith, S.J. t. i. p. 59.

and there is little likelihood that the martyr of the year 871 was intended by the artist, for he was King, not of England, but of East Anglia. Alford's and Silvester's conclusion that the kneeling king was Richard II., who died in 1399, is probable, not only on artistic, but on historical grounds. It is still more likely that the young king presented by St. George was the illustrious hero of Agincourt, Henry V., who died in 1422; or again, it may have been one of earlier date, Edward III., who won the Battle of Crecy in 1346.

That Henry V. consecrated his kingdom to our Lady is certain, though he was not the first to do this. A monk named Elmham, who wrote in Latin verse during the King's lifetime an account of his exploits and piety, uses these words,

Anglia dos tua fit, mater pia, Virgo Maria
Henrico rege; tu tua jura rege,¹

which may be translated,

O Virgin sweet, England is made thy dower,
By royal Henry, keep it by thy power.

The inscription on the Roman picture is evidently derived from these lines of Thomas Elmham. If, then, Henry V. is the king, the queen represented is Catharine, daughter of Charles VI. of France.

There is something in the emphatic and even obtrusive manner in which Elmham uses the word Dowry that shows that it had been lately brought into prominence. In a *Te Matrem Dei laudamus*, or imitation of the *Te Deum*, Elmham writes: "We pray thee, therefore, succour the English, whom thou hast defended as thy own Dowry. Save thy people,

¹ *Memorials of Henry V.* (Rolls Series) p. 121.

O Lady, and deliver thy Dowry from the pestilence of death.”¹ And in another part of his poem on Henry, he says that the cry of England at the Battle of Agincourt was :

Virgo Maria fave, propria pro dote ; Georgi
Miles, et Edwarde, Rex pie, confer opem.

“Our Lady for her Dowry ; St. George and St. Edward to our aid !” Now the Battle of Agincourt was fought in 1415, the third year of Henry’s reign. The title was therefore, according to Elmham, already well known, and “familiar as a household word” throughout England. And this we know to have been the case, for we have the testimony to it, written fifteen years before, of Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In an official letter addressed to his suffragans he says that “the contemplation of the great mystery of the Incarnation, in which the Eternal Word chose the holy and immaculate Virgin, that from her womb He should clothe Himself with flesh, has drawn all Christian nations to venerate her from whom come the first beginnings of our redemption ;” but that “we English, being the servants of her special inheritance, and her own Dowry, as we are commonly called, ought to surpass others in the fervour of our praise and devotion.” He then considers how the power of England has increased, and ascribes these successes and this prosperity to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. Therefore, that our Lady’s protection may be continued, at the special desire of the King, he

¹ Elmham wrote this : *Ad Laudem Dei Genitricis Mariæ, propter gloriosam expeditionem regis Henrici V. et pro successu regis Angliæ dotis suæ, quæ cunctas hæreses cum hæresiarcha Joanne Oldcastle suis precibus interemit.*

enjoins that as hitherto the devotion of the faithful has been accustomed to honour Mary at the ringing of the curfew, by saying five times the Angelic Salutation, together with the Lord's Prayer once, so also the bell should be rung early in the morning in all cathedral, collegiate, monastic, and parish churches, and the same prayers be said. He grants an Indulgence to all who perform this devotion.

The King here mentioned was Henry IV., who had just come to the throne, and the date is 1400.¹ As the Archbishop had recently been residing in Germany and France, there is the force of personal testimony in his saying that England was commonly called Our Lady's Dowry. The question, however, still arises as to why, and how long it had been so called. There can be no doubt that the title would never have been given, or would have been rejected as an empty boast, had not England been known far and wide for the splendour of its churches, monuments, and pilgrimages of our Lady, and the devotion of the people ; yet, as I have said, not this alone can have originated the "singular title" of Our Lady's Dowry. Do we, then, find any earlier record of dedication or consecration than that of Henry V. ? Fortunately such a record has come down to us, and by an irony

¹ The letter or constitution in Wilkins (tom. iii. p. 246) is dated February 10th, 1399, whence Mr. Waterton has concluded that the King referred to was Richard II., who abdicated on September 29th, 1399. But as the new year counted from March 25th, February, 1399, would be February, 1400, in modern reckoning. That such was the case in this instance is evident from the fact that in February, 1399, Archbishop Arundel was in banishment in Cologne. He returned to England with the Duke of Lancaster, and when the Duke ascended the throne as Henry IV., Arundel was reinstated as Archbishop. See Article on Arundel by Mr. Gairdner in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

of Divine Providence it was the impious and sacrilegious efforts of Edward VI. (or his governors) to obliterate all traces of the devotion of his ancestors, "so that there remain no memory of it," which has caused not only the memory, but the very monument and representation of it, to be preserved into the present century. The story need not be long.

The palace of the Kings of England had long been fixed at Westminster. They cherished of course the splendid abbey church rebuilt by St. Edward, and again by Henry III. But, adjoining their palace there was a royal chapel of great size and magnificence dedicated to St. Stephen. The vault or undercroft of this now alone remains, the edifice having been destroyed by fire in 1834.¹ It had been built by King Stephen, and in a more splendid style by Edward III., who completed it in 1360. Either opening into it or close beside it was a smaller chapel of our Lady, called Our Lady of the Pew. This name, the origin of which is disputed, was derived from a still older chapel or image of that title in the neighbouring abbey, which by way of distinction was called the *old* Lady of Pew.² Edward III. had

¹ The external lobby of the present House of Commons is the exact size, and lies on the exact site, of the old House of Commons, and chapel of St. Stephen's.

² On this subject it is enough here to refer to Mr. Edmund Waterton's very complete dissertation in his *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, pp. 227—239. The title has been variously derived from Our Lady of Puy in France, of which there was a confraternity in London, from Puits, because of certain wells, from Pity (abridged) and from Pew (itself derived from appui) because of the royal tribune. It is a proof how thoroughly the memory of old devotion was effaced, that Stowe, who has preserved many documents about this royal chapel, thought for a time that it was near Charing Cross. He corrected his mistake in his second edition, but it has been perpetuated by writers who copied from his first.

founded a college of a dean and twelve canons to serve St. Stephen's Chapel. Probably from the chapel being in the royal palace it was not thought necessary to obliterate the wall paintings in the time of Henry VIII. ; but when the college was suppressed in 1548, and the chapel disused and converted into the Parliament House by Edward VI., the paintings were wainscoted over. Could their memory perish more effectually? So thought the perpetrators of this sacrilege ; and within the walls of St. Stephen's generation after generation of Parliamentary orators have declaimed and legislated against the generations that call Mary blessed, and have declared the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as practised by the Roman Catholic Church, to be superstitious and idolatrous,¹ while close to them, but unseen, were the painted records which connected Catholic devotion to our Lady with some of the greatest names of English history.

At length, in the year 1800, it was necessary to make some alterations, for the Parliament had become Imperial, and the Irish House was merged with the English and Scotch. The Annual Register will tell us what was then revealed. Under the head of Principal Occurrences, October 31, the annalist writes :

The alterations in the House of Commons, preparatory to the meeting of the Imperial Parliament, began in August. The oaken wainscoting at each side having been removed, gave again to the view the venerable walls of what was once St. Stephen's Chapel. The gothic pillars (? piers), the finished scroll work, and the laboured carvings, were,

¹ The Test Oath (repealed) and the Coronation Oath still unrepealed.

generally speaking, in good preservation. But what is more observable is, that the paintings which fill the interstices, having been protected from the action of the air for so many centuries, are in many parts as fresh and vivid as if they could only boast a twelvemonths' date. In the right-hand corner, behind the Speaker's chair, and about five feet from the ground, there is a Virgin and Child, with Joseph bending over them, well preserved and tolerably executed in colour; and Edward III. and his Queen and suite, making their offerings to the Virgin. Under them in six niches, as many knights in armour, with their tabards of arms, and in each angle an acolyte holding a taper. Adjoining these, and on the same level, are two whole-length figures of angels, their heads reclining on the shoulders, and holding each, extended before them, a piece of drapery or mantle, charged with various devices or armorial bearings; their wings composed of peacock's feathers, very highly finished, and in which the green and gold are, in general, as lively as if they had been newly laid on. On each side of the altar are pictures of the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the marriage in Cana, &c.¹

O sweet irony, worthy of our Lady, to make Edward VI. the involuntary instrument in preserving to us this splendid testimony to the piety of Edward III.! For what is this picture? It may either have commemorated an historical event, or its execution may be considered an historical event in itself. It is not, nor does it record, an act of private

¹ It is almost certain that the picture at the Gospel side of the altar, which was much mutilated, represented the Adoration of the Magian Kings, although our Lady is seated on a chair of state. (See Sir H. Englefield's dissertation, published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1811, and Smith's *History of Westminster*.) Yet the kneeling figures underneath this picture are Edward III. and his five sons, while under the picture of the Presentation in the Temple, at the Epistle side, are Queen Philippa and her daughters. St. George too is represented as turning towards the King and presenting him to our Lady, in the throne above. Thus the English royal family are uniting their homage with that recorded in the Gospels.

devotion. The King and Queen would have themselves depicted as surrounded by their family and by knights bearing their coats of arms. Acolytes were holding lighted tapers, and two angels were represented as taking part in a solemnity. It is the consecration of England, through its Sovereign, to the Blessed Virgin. It was before the eyes of every king and noble until hidden by Edward VI.

As Richard II. was thought to have been the King represented in the Roman picture, I will relate here an episode of his life, which will at least serve to show the spirit of the times in which England won her title. Richard, son of Edward, the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III., had succeeded his grandfather at the age of eleven. In 1381, at the age of fifteen, he was a gallant and pious youth. It was the year of the great rising or rebellion of the people under the leadership of Wat Tyler. Though the peasants had many just grounds of complaint against the nobles and the Government, in their insurrection they had been guilty of wholesale massacres and reckless destruction of property. Amongst other crimes they had broken into the Tower of London, dragged the Archbishop, Simon of Sudbury, from the altar, and having murdered him had nailed derisively an ecclesiastical cap to the venerable head, which they fixed on London Bridge. This happened on the 14th June. The throne and even the life of the young King were in imminent danger. After the short repose of that terrible night the King rode from the Wardrobe in the city to Westminster, with the Lord Mayor, William Walworth, and about two hundred of his

nobles who had rallied round him. At Westminster he made his confession to a hermit priest, and then heard Mass in St. Stephen's Chapel, and ardently implored God's help. Thence he went to kneel before the image of Our Lady of the Pew, which, as I have said, was in a side-chapel. "This image," writes Froissart, "is famous for miracles and graces, and the Kings of England place great trust in it. The King then made his prayers before this image, and made an offering of himself to our Lady."¹ Froissart goes on to tell how, after this prayer, the King and his nobles rode towards London and met the rebels near Smithfield, and how, by a most unexpected turn of events, the insolent leader of the insurrection, Wat Tyler, was struck down by the Lord Mayor, and the rabble dispersed. The King, attributing his good fortune to our Lady's prayers, returned to Westminster, and again knelt before her image to express his gratitude.

Next year he was united in marriage with the daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., who was commonly called by her English subjects, "the good Queen Anne." It is certainly in no way unlikely that this Prince and his pious Queen may have joined in some solemn dedication of England to our Lady. A statue of Sir William Walworth, the loyal and brave Mayor, erected on Holborn Viaduct, near the scene of the meeting with Wat Tyler, commemorates the King's deliverance, but unfortunately there is at the present day no public monument in the streets or squares of London to her in whom the Catholic Kings of England and their people, nobles, citizens,

¹ *S'offrit à elle.* (Froissart.)

and peasants, put their trust. This, however, please God, may some day come.

Virgin-Glory, deign
 Into thy hand to take again
 This island's sceptre, thine before
 In the Christ-loving days of yore.
 Take it and by its gentle sway
 To better times ordain the way.¹

II.—Meaning of the Title.

It must not be thought for a moment that in calling England Our Lady's Dowry we are putting forth claims in depreciation of any other part of Christendom. We glory indeed in what our forefathers did for Mary, but we rejoice no less in the honours paid elsewhere. Strictly speaking, the word dowry does not even suggest a claim that England served our Lady with special tenderness and fervour, though this was doubtless the case. It implies that England ought thus to have served her, that she had bound herself by her own acts to do so, and that she made a public profession of love and homage. We institute, then, no comparisons. When our Lord asked St. Peter, "Lovest thou Me more than these?" the Apostle was prudently and humbly silent as regards others; yet he answered earnestly, "Lord, I love Thee; Thou knowest that I love Thee." So if our Blessed Lady, after our solemn consecration, should ask, "Catholics of England, do you love me more than the French or Italians?" it will be wise in us to make no idle boast; yet it will be good for us if we are able to say, with the approval of our consciences, "Lady, thou knowest that we love thee."

¹ Caswall, *A Tale of Tintern*.

It would be less invidious to boast of Mary's special love of England, for did not St. John call himself the disciple whom Jesus loved? But perhaps it is safer simply to recall the words applied to Mary by the Holy Church, *Ego diligentes me diligo*—"I love those that love me," and to strive to merit a special love as did our fathers. The word Dowry should be a title reminding us of duty, not exciting us to self-complacency. This is the sense in which it was first used. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, in issuing the ordinance or constitution that I have quoted, says that we should belie our name of Our Lady's Dowry, if we did not strive to surpass other nations in the homage we pay to her.

The English Hierarchy of 1893 write :

To sum up all, it may be said that, in the mind of the Holy Father, and in our mind, the object and purpose of this solemn consecration of England to the great Mother of God and to Blessed Peter is to obtain an abundant outpouring of blessings upon the whole country and people of England—the blessing of unity in Faith, Hope, and Charity, the blessing of such temporal plenty and prosperity as may redound to the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

There is a passage in the Prophet Ezechiel which proves at the same time how sin, when grown common, draws down national chastisement, and how powerful is the eminent sanctity, even of a few, to avert God's anger. God complained of all classes of His people ; of the prophets that they spake no truth and cared nothing for the loss of souls ; of the priests that they put no difference between holy and profane ; of the princes that they were rapacious like wolves ; of the people that they were avaricious, unjust, and cruel ;

and then God continued in these words: "I sought among them for a man that might set up a hedge, and stand in the gap before Me in favour of the land that I might not destroy it, and I found none. And I poured out My indignation upon them, in the fire of My wrath I consumed them, I have rendered their way upon their own head, saith the Lord God."¹

The wall of God's protection was broken down by the universal and reiterated sins of every class. The anger or justice of God, like a besieging army, was advancing by the breach to the destruction of the city. In such a case the people are wont to choose their bravest captain, to give him a band of worthy companions, and to place them in the breach to keep back the enemy. God in His compassion complains that no such champion was forthcoming. He laments the absence of any saint of transcendent merits and mighty prayers, and that His justice must pursue its course, and that He must render to men their ways upon their own heads. These are terrible words; but what a sublime picture do they present of the power of a great advocate with God!

It is then a holy and a wholesome thought to ask our Lady to be our champion, to stand in the gap in favour of the land. She has doubtless the power, she has doubtless also the will; but we must merit her protection by the fervour and constancy of our prayers.

And here I would humbly suggest that, while we emulate the zeal of our forefathers, we need not be blind to their deficiencies. Was there not something of a national, ambitious, and warlike tone in some

¹ Ezech. xxii. 25—31.

of their appeals to our Lady to aid and protect her Dowry? Did they not think too much of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; of subduing another people to their will, rather than of subduing themselves to the holy will of God? We know how the victories which intoxicated our national pride were followed by national disasters, and how the nation that had cried: "Our Lady for her Dowry!" at Agincourt, was at last defeated and put to shame by the holy Maid of Orleans, who had prayed our Lady to have pity on her beloved France, ruined and down-trodden by the invaders. We may learn from this only to seek from our Lady what she can grant without injury to others or to ourselves.

Again, I do not doubt that even at the time of what is called the Reformation of England in the sixteenth century, the greater number of English men and women were loyal to our Lady; yet I look in vain for any national or even widespread endeavour, by having recourse to her, to avert the calamities that were threatening the land. In the great plagues called the Black Death, which ravaged England in the fifteenth century, there were processions and litanies. Again, in the year 1527, when Rome had been cruelly sacked and the Pope was a prisoner in his Castle of St. Angelo, there was a movement of general prayer throughout England in his behalf. The Bishops ordered united supplications to be made; and those supplications were successful. The Pope escaped from his persecutors, and he was soon after restored to his throne. But when four years later Henry VIII. began his exactions and usurpations upon the Church in England, when he

was putting forth one impious and sacrilegious claim after another, I do not find the Bishops calling on the clergy and people to unite in one common prayer to our Lady to avert impending dangers, and to keep them faithful to God and His Church. Yet this might have been done, at least in the early part of the struggle, in such a way as not to exasperate the monarch. And I cannot but think that, if the nation had then remembered that it was Our Lady's Dowry, and had appealed to her for succour and protection, the history of England might have been far different. The prayers of the Queen of Heaven, earnestly sought, would have effectually baffled the angry passions of the earthly tyrant ; the clergy might have stood firm by the side of Blessed Fisher, the monastic orders supported the holy Carthusians, the nobility taken their stand by Blessed More, and the King would have been forced to yield.

May we then, I repeat, emulate the piety, but take warning from the remissness of our forefathers. There are evils to be combated not less grievous than the tyranny of a king. The prevalence of drunkenness, the sin of unchastity, profanation of God's name, the neglect of Holy Mass, these are evils among ourselves that, if they continue, will make it seem like an idle boast to call ourselves Our Lady's Dowry. And the ever-increasing spread of infidelity, the deluge of bad books, the corrupting of heathen nations by the sale of our opium and our fire-water, these things are national sins against which we must contend by imploring the prayers of her who is called the Help of Christians.

The present action on the part of our Bishops is

as when Ezechias sent posts with letters to all Israel and Juda, proclaiming : "Ye children of Israel, turn again to the Lord the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Israel ; and He will return to the remnant of you that hath escaped the hand of the King of the Assyrians ; . . . yield yourselves to the Lord and come to His sanctuary, which He hath sanctified for ever ; serve the Lord the God of your fathers, and the wrath of His indignation shall be turned away from you."¹

Ages had passed, yet Abraham, Isaac, and Israel were ever living before the Lord. For their sake He was ready to show mercy to their children. Nor are Augustine and Bede, and Cuthbert, Anselm, and Thomas, and Edward and Edmund, dead at this day. They are praying for Our Lady's Dowry. Is Mary not "the Sanctuary that God hath sanctified for ever"? May her protection for ever sanctify her children !

Men had robbed our Queen of her dower,
Robbed thy dower of thee, sweet Queen ;
Dark and dreary without thy smiles
Our meads and cities for years have been.
Queen of our hearts ! Queen of the world !
Rend thine own from the spoiler's power ;
Come back again,
Over us reign,
Take us once more for thy Royal Dower.

NOTE.

It will not be inappropriate to this history, in which I have said so much of the Catholic use and veneration of images, if I add a few amusing instances

¹ 2 Paral. xxx, 6—8.

of the controversies aroused by the destruction of images, which were only brought to light in the publication of State Papers in 1892.

In 1538, William Smith, servant to Sir Roger Wentworth, blamed a certain minstrel named Hunt, for singing at a bridal a song railing against saints and calling their images idols. Hunt defended himself, saying they were set up in times past by the Bishop of Rome, but now the King is Supreme Head, and the Bishop of Rome has nothing to do here. Smith asked if previous kings had not been as wise as this King, and yet they obeyed the Pope, and all other kings do so still, and he wished to know who gave the King leave to put the Pope down.¹ This speech got poor Smith into trouble.—Some of the parishioners of Gracechurch, London, accuse their curate, Mr. Laborne, of saying that St. Austin landed in the Isle of Thanet, with a cross of wood and a picture of Christ, and that then there were as wise men as now be. The parishioners reply in their memorial that all the doings of St. Austin, being the legate of a reprobate master, the Pope, were not commendable.²—Sir Thomas Cowley, Vicar of Ticehurst, was accused because he said “the people would not dare to spit upon the King’s face on a groat, but would spit upon an image, which was spitting upon God.”³—Nicolas Porter, parson of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, was accused of having said, “Lo, while this King and his Council were busy to pull down abbeys, he was made cuckold at home.”⁴

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. xiii. part i. n. 615.

² *Ibid.* n. 1111.

³ *Ibid.* n. 1149.

⁴ *Ibid.* n. 493.

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